BULLETIN OF THE INSTITUTE OF TRADITIONAL CULTURES MADRAS

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MADRAS-600 005. INDIA.

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INSTITUTE OF TRADITIONAL CULTURES,

Madras-5.

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PREFACE

The Bulletin contains articles on traditions and cultures of South and South East Asia besides articles on Tamil tradition and culture. Certain articles received from scholars could not be published in this issue for want of space. They will be published in the next issue. As in the previous issues, the authors were left free to use such diacritical marks as were adopted earlier in the Bulletins, in view of the separate systems of transliteration in Indian languages. The Institute is grateful to all scholars who have contributed articles, delivered lectures and led seminars on a variety of themes pertaining to traditional cultures which appear in this issue.

We are grateful to the Government of Tamil Nadu as well as the Government of India for the continuance of their financial assistance to the Institute and its activities.

The University of Madras continues to accommodate the Institute in its building, providing it with the concomitant amenities and bears the entire cost of the paper and printing of issues of the Bulletin. The Institute is grateful to the University for all the valuable help, which enable it to continue to carry on its activities.

The Institute is thankful to the Heads and staff members of the Departments of the University for their kind and hearty co-operation in the activities of the Institute.

We also thank our President, Prof. G. R. Damodaran, the Vice Chancellor of the University of Madras, who, as usual has continued to evince a great interest in the affairs of the Institute.

The Governing Body and the Executive Committee of the Institute have also given valuable assistance in running the Institute and deserve our thanks.

Madras,
11-7-1980.

K. K. PILLAY
Director

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THE ŚĀTTĀDA ŚRĪVAIṢṆAVAS

BY

Mr. A. APPANRAMANUJAM, M.A.,

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Much ink has been spilt in tracing the origin of Vaiṣṇavism. Excepting one or two genuine historians such as R. G. Bhandarkar, others have concentrated their efforts in the development of Vaiṣṇavism after the period of the great Vaiṣṇava reformer Rāmānuja (1017—1137 A.D.). But the residue of the present form of Vaiṣṇavism has its origin and development before Rāmānuja. The Aryan invaders in order to survive fused their own culture into the pre-Aryan culture which existed in India when they came as the herds of cattle through Khyber pass from Central Asia. ......" All over India, the foundations of Indian Culture were laid by the fusion of Indo-Aryan and pre-Aryan elements". (K. A. Nilakanta Sastry—A History of South India, Chapter I, p. 2). Archaeological, epigraphical and the literary (The Sangam classics and the Nālāyira Divya Prabandham) evidences vindicate the existence of the non-Aryan origin to Vaiṣṇavism.

'Sāttāda Śrīvaiṣṇavas:

Who are these people? Why they are called as Śrivaiṣṇavas? What is the etymology of the word Sāttāda? For these questions much non-sense has been written in the Gazetteers of both state and central governments. In one book it is found that they are the followers of the Vaiṣṇava saint Chaitanya of Bengal who lived after Rāmānuja (i.e.) after 12th century. In another book it is found that the great Vaiṣṇava reformer Rāmānuja converted a number of non-Brahmins (including Sūdras) into Brahmins by proper initiation and so these people became Brahmins by Rāmānuja's reformation! God only knows what are the other stories connected with these people. The mystery behind these people will disappear if we attempt to study in the back-

ground I have given in the first paragraph. In some books it is found that the word Sāttāda refers to the fact that these people do not wear the sacred thread (in Tamil Sāttāda means one who does not wear) which is also false.

If we trace the origin of Sāttāda Śrīvaiṣṇavas invariably it will mean to tracing the origin of Vaiṣṇavism. In ancient India many religions survived (Buddhism and Jainism) without accepting God. There were also theistic systems in the Eastern regions of Magadha. The worship of Vāsudeva was one such theistic system. The worship of Vāsudeva was called Sātvata* or the Bhāgavata religion, 'Sātvata' because of the name of its followers—also because of their sāttvic nature. They were also called Bhāgavatas and Pāñcarātras, Bhāgavata presumably because of the worship of Vāsudeva as the 'Bhagavat'. This Vāsudeva cult formed the basis for the later development of Vaiṣṇavism. Dr. Radhakrishnan also refers to these people in his Indian Philosophy (Vol. I, p. 492). "The Bhāgavata religion is also called the Sātvata religion, since Vāsudeva is given that name (Ādiparva, 218, 12). The Bhāgavata mentions the Sātvatas as worshippers of the Bhāgavat (ix. 9, 49)...Magasthenes also alludes to them. *The aryanisation resulted in the identification of Vāsudeva with Nārāyaṇa and later Vishṇu*".

In course of time the Vāsudeva worshippers identified Vāsudeva with cowherd Kṛṣṇa. The religion and philosophy of these people culminated in Bhāgavad Gita. Later, Aryans included this philosophy in their Mahābhārata as if Kṛṣṇa teaches Arjuna these hymns when he was in dejection. According to Talboys Wheeler, that "Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna on the morning of the first day of the war, when both armies are drawn out in battle array and hostilities are about to begin, "should" enter into a long and philosophical dialogue respecting the various forms of devotion which lead to the emancipation of the soul" is unnatural. Telang, agreeing partially with this judgement, argues that the Bhāgavadgita is an independent work appropriated by the author

* See R. G. Bhandarkar—Vaiṣṇavism. Saivism and minor religions.

of the Mahābhārata for his own purpose''', (Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy*—Vol. I, p. 523). From the above quotation it is evident that the Āryans conveniently compiled the teachings of Bhāgavadgita in their Mahābhārata.

The word Sātvata in course of time had changed into Sāttāda (Most probably the Tamil Brahmins (i.e.) Ayyangars would have coined this word to their convenience and to have complete authority of priesthood in the Vaiṣṇava temples because by giving to the word Sāttāda a meaning that a Brahmin who does not wear sacred thread, the Tamil Brahmins could distinguish themselves from Sāttāda Śrīvaiṣṇavas).

The Sāttāda Śrivaiṣṇavas style themselves as 'Ayya' and are revered by the forward communities such as Naidus, Reddis etc. They are also called as 'Swamy' by the people and are invited to officiate ceremonies in their houses. They are noted for their virtues, piety and consciousness of their duties. The D. S. Charitam editions mention about the Kandādais who are Sāttāda Śrīvaiṣṇavas. At the end of 2nd Sarga of D. S. Charitam we find the invocation to Aṇṇan in the following words: "Aṇṇan Tiruvadigale Saraṇam (Aṇṇan is short for Koil Kandādai Aṇṇan). The Kandādais are responsible for the management of the Vaiṣṇava temples. They have in their custody the valuables such as jewels etc., of the idols. Some of them are appointed as Jiyars of the Mutts. Even to-day there are Jiyars from Sāttāda Śrīvaiṣṇavas in Tirumala and Srirangam. The antiquity of Sāttāda Śrīvaiṣṇavas is as old as religion. We have already found their origin, (i.e.) as worshippers of Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa. The worship of Vāsudeva is as old as Chandragupta Maurya who reigned in the last quarter of the 4th century B.C. This is shown by the allusions of Megesthness, the Greek Ambassador to the existence of this cult in his account. The Gupta princes Chandragupta-II, Kumaragupta-II and Skandagupta styled themselves as 'Parama Bhāgavatas' in their coins. They were the worshippers of Bhāgavat or Vāsudeva. The influence of the Bhāgavata religion, its doctrine of devotion, and the stories of the exploits of Kṛṣṇa which formed an important

element in it are all reflected in full measure in the works of the Āḻvārs. Among the Āḻvārs, Nāthamuni is a Sāttāda Śrīvaiṣṇava.

Finally I can come to the following conclusions regarding the Sāttāda Śrīvaiṣṇavas:—

(1) That they are the native Brahmins of our country (Non–Āryans).

(2) That the age-long rivalry goes on between them and the Ārya Brahmins.

(3) That the origin of the word Sāttāda is Sātvāta (Bhāgavata).

(4) That they are founders of Vaiṣṇavism.

(5) That they are neither the followers of Rāmānuja nor Chaitanya because these two Vaiṣṇava Saints lived after 12th century.

RURAL HEALTH CARE –
A SOCIO - CULTURAL STUDY

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During the present decade, the process of national re-construction has ultimately involved itself very seriously to gear up the science and technology biased to the rural planning and development. Indian Science Congress has also set its discussion theme in the same trend to cover the broader strata of the rural population who are not yet touched by the process of development and the masses who resist and create obstacles. This is, in reality, a building exercise in synthesising the concepts of tradition and modernity.

Such an effort is all the more important in the field of health and sickness form part of individuals life providing a "ceaseless adjustment" with the environment. The Government of India drew up a scheme for an efficient, quick medical aid within the means of rural people. It is a time-bound plan to cover 5.8 lakhs villages within a period of two years. The major objective is to carry health care benefits to the remote and inaccessible areas in India. It is noted that the Government has accepted the fact that the mother in the household is the most important, selfless and reliable health worker. There is a consideration of the rural-poor beyond the urban rich as the target for health services. The rural health programme, in the exercise of synthesising the concepts of tradition and modernity, envisages an organisational and training framework. But there is a need for sociological understanding of the traditional health care system in the rural parts of India.

People in the villages in India with their ignorance, poverty and inaccessibility to the new ways of health care services remain apathetic to the modern health care and also resist when health

services are extended to them. Practices related to illness and health are often influenced by social and cultural factors. Sick patient from village, his conception of sickness, remedial measures and conception of the causative factors are well entrenched within the prevailing socio-cultural framework, An understanding of such practices may give a total meaning. Thus the organisation and structure of village with its tradition bound customs, beliefs, attitudes and taboos are at first to be understood by our medical students, medical practitioners, health administrators and health programmers.

In a sociological perspective the institutions in the village where individuals are establishing interaction could be broadly classified into caste, family, school and temple. The economic and social activities of villages depend upon these institutions. Villages being predominently agricultural, the economic activities are primarily agriculture oriented. A few hold the land and other related possessions while many others are either mostly tenants and agricultural workers. As the ownership of the means of production is still being distributed along the caste lines, other aspects of their social life also (in terms of dress, food habits, house and other things) are more or less influenced in the same way. These are influenced further by the natural environment occupation, economic structure, culture, ignorance and above all the psychological tendencies in terms of apathetic orientation towards innovation. The family as basic social unit, caste, religion and other units apart from the economic nature and illiteracy, influence the young for some predetermined conceptions. The failure to abide by rituals and religious practices is considered as source of ill-health Their ignorance and inability of understanding the clear significance of ritual practices make them tradition bound. Cultural and personal orientations of rural life reveal that the course of future events cannot be predicted. So, the practice of tradition is considered as a force to reassure the course of future events. They are considered to have an influence upon the etiology of illness also. Thus, the field of health, in the village social system, inherits a system of personal care of hygiene and other related

health practices. Provided by uncertainties in the course of challenges in their daily life and work, these systems are the traditionally prescribed ritual ceremonies with sacredness. Much emphasis is placed on careful repetition of action and words for each particular occasion without realising the significance and content of the meaning. They act as non-empirical means to non-empirical ends. These systems are necessary because the whole village system is being influenced by evil and good considerations mediated through living man, hovering spirits of pre-mature and unnatural deaths of individuals and sorcerers and magicians. The concept of illness within the above frames of references of our rural social system could be meaningfully classified under the following heads: (a) the illness itself, i.e. what it is called illness,, (b) why such illness as an affliction and that it is being considered so amorphous. (e.g.) cough, fever, injury are all afflictions only when they incapacitate individuals from the work. The leisure and labour are so much inadequately differentiated that they do not realise the affliction of illness until the impact restrains them from day to day work. At times, it is common conception that the illness is considered to be an outcome of supernatural influence and as such they do not consider them as illness at all. The causes of illness are, at times, identified as either having origins in human beings who are possessed with evil eyes, witchcraft and sorceric powers or as that of the influence of supernatural spirits, namely demons, devils, ghosts, and spirits of tree and places and the furious nature of Gods. Illness or sickness as a state of physical organism at any particular point in time is said to be prevalent among 6.50 crores of population in our country. In spite of such large extent of the prevalence of illness, villagers in India on many occasions, do not reflect the true picture of the state of illness. Several factors are implied in socio-cultural setting which explain the trend.

The concept of healthy is much in distortion. Involvement in the work without interruption and incapacitation seems to be a state of healthy one. The insidious symptoms, and signs of illness are not given attention to so long as they do not

incapacitate the individual. Allied to this, there is another implication which may be attributed to the economic status and awareness level. For example, cough does not prevent or incapacitate poor farmers, agricultural labourers so much immediately from the work. Also there is no health concern about cough. At the same time, simple cough for a rich landlord or literate is a symptom of illness. It is mainly because of the level of awareness about the seriousness of cough and its allied afflictions on the physical organism. On the other hand the symptoms and signs of some specific diseases in a delicate and private organs of the body are not reported either because of shyness, loss of self-esteem of individual in the group or because of the family structure. For example, adolescent boys and girls conceal certain afflictions mainly because of the prevailing familiarity in the local community and consequent concern about the implications on their marriage prospects. In some cases where joint family structure is in order, a husband and wife will have less opportunity for intimate discussion in the midst of large kith and kin. Also, on the other hand, the illness of certain elders are not revealed mainly on account of the prevailing notion of the hereditary component of the illness. The family members feel that such exposition of the illness of the elders in the family may affect the status and prospects of youngsters in the family. In some other cases, there is a fear of isolation or social apathy and thereby they are inhibited to reveal their illness. They feel that the talk about the illness may affect their prospects of performing social and biological roles. It is of special significance in rural areas that the size of the community is small where each and every one is closely known to each other. Thus the concept of illness and the extent of the prevalence of illness is heavily linked to the prevailing local values. On the other hand, the illness itself is considered as a manifestation of ones own deed in his past life. The concept of good and evil deed in man's life and conservation of ones own karma within the socio-religious consideration are the basic premises within which the illness is understood. The individual and the community take such stand over the illness of an individual or the members

of the family. There are some diseases and symptoms of illnesses which are not considered as diseases afflicting the biological organism. For example, epilepsy is not considered as a pathological condition of biological organism. But, there is a widespread belief that going near the fire and standing by the side of water are said to be the causes of epilepsy. At times, some other types of illnesses are said to have been caused by the entry of pre-maturely dead or unsatisfied family God. Social-magical forces such as evil eyes sorcery, influence of ancestral spirit of supernatural being are also considered as causes for various types of illness.

Besides this, there is a system of self-diagnosis shaped by socio-cultural framework with which the villagers take an adequate care and attention of their health aspect. The mind of the villagers is such that the distinction between health and sickness is very much in amorphous condition. Consequently pain all over the body and cool composition of the body are such unexplained and ambiguous conceptualisations which do not specify any symptoms of illness. The self-diagnosis system is very vast and that includes changes in the environment, deprivation and traumatic situation in the groups in which the individual is located, strain of work and travel and exposure to the water of different regions. The cycle of summer and winter is said to be accompanied by the harmful effects on one's health. Thus, villagers' health and health status are also a function of more traditional socio-cultural structure of rural folk.

General Treatment Activities:

General treatment activities include home remedies and certain other indigenous treatment procedures. These home remedies and indigenous treatment procedures have not been institutionalised but handed down traditionally from generations after generations by the members of the family. Allopathic physician is seldom resorted to as a first and immediate step. This may be understood within several socio-cultural aspects of the village social system. It is self evident that the self diagnosis is a fundamen-

tal basis which shapes the mind of the villagers in the general treatment activities of illness and disease. The folk-healers and indigenous practitioners understand the dynamics of self-diagnosis of the villagers. Their success is reinforced by the unique dis-position of modern health institutions and health personnel with their impersonal and organisational super-structure. The villagers view the modern health care system as something away from their immediate requirement of health relief. But, in certain cases, there is said to be an increased attendance at the primary health centre immediately after the establishment of the health centre. In spite of such increased attendance in the primary health centre, a trend may be noticed to the curious desire for curative efforts rather than the preventive efforts of the health centre. Instances are there that the preventive efforts of the health centre, namely, environmental sanitation, chlorina-tion of drinking water, immunisation efforts, are considered against the village folks' traditional health habits and practices. For example, the cow-dung is said to have sterilising effects. The discouragement of its use and keeping its heap away from the residential house is resisted. There are also certain opera-tional difficulties in accepting preventive efforts namely environ-mental sanitation and immunisation. Defecation in open air, as habituated by a consideration of their work nature in the open air, is a practice out of the inability to differentiate between personal. family and work-life. Resistence to dispose the house-hold refuse much away from the residential places is said to be determined by certain considerations of individuality. There seems to be no possibility to have community effort for disposal of the refuse. The individual's consideration over-rides the community efforts, and thus individuals accumulate all the refuse nearby. Similarly, immunisation and vaccination as preventive efforts meet with resistance in a different way. Vaccination is not accepted during hot months, (Hot summer seasons) festival days and religi-ous days. There are some other value consideration such as consent of husband for vaccination, hesitation of permitting an outsider to attend women members of the family especially unmarried and widowed inhibit them to accept these preventive efforts. The

curative treatment from the well-established public health centre also suffer from the socio-cultural practice, though an interest is being shown to attend the P. H. C. for curative aspects. The swallowing of the tablets, attendance in the hospital and other phases of the treatment are such several instances. A T. B. patient collects large number of tablets for swallowing them regularly for a period and accumulates them without proper use. On meat eating day, the patient does not swallow the tablets. If he has to eat bitter-guard he does not take the medicine. If he has to take oil bath, he does not swallow the tablets. All these practices are said to have an assumption that the medicine will not have an effect on the body. Similarly, fasting days are excluded to use medicine.

It will be rewarding, if the general resistance orientations are listed in a systematic way.

THE TAMIL SOCIETY OF THE ŚANGAM AGE

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Introduction :

An attempt is made in this paper to study the various aspects of the ancient Tamil Society.

The historical, linguistic, archaeological, literary, numismatic and other evidences strongly testify to the high antiquity of the Tamil Society and its versatile excellence. The very fact that there are 260 references (16% of the total aphorisms) to ancient literatures in Tholkāppiyam, the earliest literary work available, confirms the existence of great literary treatises on various branches of knowledge even a very long time ago. Unfortunately, all this literature has been lost due to serious natural calamities. The ancient Tamil Literature extant which is popularly known as the Śangam Literature, consists of Tholkāppiyam (Grammar), Pathuppāṭṭu (ten Idylls), Eṭṭuthogai (eight anthologies), Thirukkuṛaḷ (ethics), Śilappathikāram and Maṇimēkalai (Twin epics). On the basis of the various relevant evidences available, the Śangam Literature can be assigned to the period, generally known as the Śangam Age, as the Tamil Śangam (Academy), patronised by the Pāṇḍyan Kings at Madurai, has played a very significant role in the literary and cultural fields of Tamil Nad. The Śangam Literature besides throwing an appreciable flood of light on different branches of knowledge reflects each and every aspect of the Tamil Society. It was a society of well balanced development in Titanic proportions. The encomium paid on ancient Tamil Nad by the foreigners is not a hyperbolical statement but a naked truth. An attempt is made in this series of articles to present a pen picture of the Tamil Society of the Śangam Age.

Literature :

Tholkāppiyam is not only a Grammar in the ordinary sense of the term but a great treatise which deals with almost all the aspects of human activity. Tholkāppiyar, the author, has clarified each and every point with logical precision and aphoristic brevity. For instance, he points out that one can legitimately feel proud of four things, learning, valour, fame and charity. Tholkāppiyam is the grammatical and literary charter, serving as a beacon light throughout the ages of literary history of Tamil Nad.

The Pathuppāṭṭu describes every aspect of the Tamil Society in picturesque language. The eight anthologies (Eṭṭuthogai) were compiled and classified on the basis of metre and subject matter. It is needless to mention that the classification was done in an apple-pie order according to the principles of logical division. Among the eight anthologies Natṛiṇai, Kuṛunthogai, Ainkuṛunooṛu, Kalithogai and Ahanānooṛu are amatory poetry. Puṛanānooṛu mainly deals with warfare, state-craft, charity and ethics. Pathitṛupathu gives an account of the Chēra Kings and throws a light in fixing the chronological position of the ancient Chēra Monarchs. Paripādal is a miscellany which deals with love, religion and nature.

Thiruvaḷḷuvar has given the quintessence of advanced wisdom in his immortal ethics, Thirukkuṛal. Śilappathikāram, a dramatic epic (tragedy) and Maṇimēkalai, a religious epic, are treated as twin epics. The former has a greater appeal as 'our sweetest songs are those which tell of saddest thought' (Shelley).

The Śangam Literature is a mirror which reflects all the aspects of the ancient Tamil Society. The Śangam poets, who were about 500 in number, touched every branch of knowledge in their pen portraits. Beauty of expression, clarity of thought, brevity of diction, intelligibility of theme, sublimity of idea, nobility of purpose, velocity of appeal, catholicity of character and universality of outlook are the special characteristics of the Śangam Literature. It is almost free from Sanskrit words, hybrid style, pedantic phrase and fantastic imagination. The Śangam

poets sincerely considered Nature as their teacher. They received inspiration from Nature and described her beauty in a mellifluous language with aesthetic excellence.

Education:

From times immemorial education is considered to be the infallible wealth. The very fact that Thiruvaḷḷuvar, who was very brief in his treatment of any subject matter, has allotted many chapters to the various aspects of education, corroborates the sublime value of education. Thiruvaḷḷuvar had divided the entire faculties into two main divisions viz., arts and science. Mathematics - the queen of sciences, and letters - the basis of arts are the two faculties pointed out by Thiruvaḷḷuvar. He has indicated in an unerring language the universality of education. In other words, mathematics and letters are the two eyes for each and every human being under the sun. (Kuṛaḷ 392)

The learned author has indicated briefly but very clearly the various aims of education. Knowledge aim (Kuṛaḷ 396), Social aim (140), moral aim (134), philosophical aim (354), spiritual aim (2), cultural aim (997) and living aim (391), are some of the important aims of education dealt with in Thirukkuṛaḷ. According to Thiruvaḷḷuvar, teaching has four stages viz., feeling the pulse of the students, grasping the subject to be taught, simplifying the subject, and appealing and inspiring presentation. (Kuṛaḷ 424, 711). To all intents and purposes an uneducated man is no better than an animal (410). Tholkāppiyar mentions general education and technical education is one of his aphorisms in Tholkāppiyam. (Tholkāppiyam, Poruḷathikāram - Kazagam Edition June 1953; Agathiṇai iyal - Aphorism No. 44). Pāṇḍyan Nedunchezhian, the King-poet, gives a vivid pen-portrait of the glory of learning. The sum and substance of his Poem (Puṛanānooṛu 183) is that an educated man, however low may be his social position, will be respected even by the ruler of the land. The poets of the Śangam Age have educated the Kings as well as the ordinary people. They gave the rulers sound advice on various matters on appropriate occasions and played a remarkable role in the educational field of ancient Tamil Nad.

Teaching was considered as the noblest and the most respectable profession. In short, the ancient Tamils did not consider education as a means to earn bread and butter but realized that it was for life, through life and throughout life.

Social Life :

Society consists of men, women and children. According to Tamil the word 'man' has various shades of meaning. Though generally it refers to the masculine gender among human beings it specially connotes a person who has the power of control. Spiritually speaking, man is expected to control his senses and attain spiritual mastery. The term 'Woman' apart from its primary meaning, has a special connotation. The word 'Peṇ' which means woman, is derivcd from the root 'Petpu' signifying 'love', 'desire etc. The implication is, woman is a possessor of all the amicable qualities and hence she is lovable. Children are considered to be the wealth of the parents and a source of enjoyment (Kuṛaḷ 61, 65, 66; Puṛanānooṛu 188).

The ancient Tamil Society was divided into many divisions. The divisions were made not to create any disparity or inequality among the people but to direct them to embrace different occupations for the smooth sailing of the society. As a matter of fact, the classification was made on the principle of division of labour. The ancient Tamil realised and recognized the dignity of labour.

There was perfect social equality between man and woman. In certain respects woman was respected to a greater degree. A chaste woman was not only paid social respects but viewed with a deep sense of divine veneration. She was placed on par with God. (Śilappthihāram : Padhigam 56).

Milk of human kindness was considered as a fundamental social affinity and there was perfect harmonious co-existence. Man without social culture was placed among the dead (Kuṛaḷ 214). 'Divide and consume' was the social ethics envisaged and actualised by Tamils of the Śangam Age (Puṛam 163). The temples served the purpose of social institutions and people assembled

and mixed with one another with perfect social liberty, equality and fraternity.

'The purpose of friendship is to help each other' says Thiruvaḷḷuvar. 'Give and take policy' was considered as one of the main social principles on which smooth social inter-course could be made. Unity in diversity and social catholicity were the special features of the society of the Śangam Age.

Marriage :

Marriage was considered as a sacred union of two hearts. Matrimonial process had two stages viz., pre-marital and post-marital, and sanctity was maintained throughout the process. There was complete identification of husband and wife in their walk of life. The purpose of marriage was not only to enjoy sensual pleasure but also to do charity with a deep sense of fellow-feeling (Kuṟunthogai 63. Kuṟaḷ 81). Woman was given the highest place in society in general and home in particular. The Tamil word "illāḷ" which ordinarily means "wife" has a special connotation. The word can be split conveniently into two distinct units viz., 'il' and 'āḷ' meaning thereby "the ruler of the home". So it is crystal clear that the wife was not only treated as a partner of the man but the ruler of the home and the better half in the real sense of the term. The love experienced by the married couple was not lust or sensual craving but a tender feeling of a high order. Thiruvaḷḷuvar has rightly pointed out that such a love is more tender than the flower (Kuṟaḷ 1289). Various aspects of harmony between husband and wife were indicated by Tolkāppiyar.

Monogamy was the only moral code accepted by the society (Kuṟaḷ 1315)—Kuṟunthogai 49). Though prostitution existed it was looked upon with contempt by every cultured Tamilian. (Puṟanānooṟu 73). "It will be noticed that in this ancient Tamil rite of marriage there was no lighting of fire, no circumambulation of fire and no priest to receive dakshina" observed P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar (History of Tamils p. 80).

Morality :

Morality was considered as the foundation stone on which the entire human virtues were based. Though the Śangam literature (except Kuṛaḷ) are not ethical in character they have a moral view and have the force to inculcate moral sense in the readers. Maintaining morality is more important than preserving life (Kuṛaḷ 131)˙ Even the thinking of evil thought was considered a serious moral offence. Morality is not only a code of behaviour but a code of life. To cite an example, sense of gratitude was considered as an essential quality that should be possessed by every cultured man on the globe (Kuṛaḷ 110; Puṛanānooṛu 34). The same moral sentiments were voiced by Shakespeare :

> " Blow, blow, thou winter wind,
> Thou art not so unkind
> As man's ingratitude "
>
> (*As you Like It—11, 7*)

> " How sharper than a serpent's tooth it is
> To have a thankless child "
>
> (*King Lear—1, 4*)

The term ' morality ' which was defined logically and understood precisely by the ancient Tamil savants has a tripartite connotation viz., purity of thought, word and deed. In short, according to the Śangam Literature, morality is not only a view of life but a way of life.

Religion :

All the lirerary works of the Śangam Age declare in an unambiguous language that Tamilians had a strong faith in the existence of the Almighty. Though the Almighty was mentioned by different names and attributes the ancient Tamils embraced monothesim. The Almighty was described as an embodiment of all the noble virtues (Kuṛaḷ 9). Though there were many temples of deities, they believed that there is only one Ultimate Reality i.e., the all-pervading God. This is corroborated by the fact that the Almighty was always mentioned in singular. Paripāḍal gives a flash of light on temples. People congregated at temples, in order to enjoy peacc of mind and spiritual pleasure.

They did not pray to God for loaves and fishes but for His divine grace, In other words, they prayed to the Almighty not for their material welfare but for their spiritual uplift (Paripāḍal 5: LL 78–81).

Among the various religious rites that were in vogue the practice of virgin taking bath in the early morning during the cold season in the month of Margazhi (December–January) deserves a special mention. It was popularly known as *Thanneeradal* and *Ambaadal*. It was a rigid course of spiritual discipline which enabled the virgins to attain a harmonious development of physical cleanliness, mental purity and spiritual sublimation (Paripāḍal 11: LL 74–22 & Kalithogai 59). The ancient Tamils believed in the cycle of birth and death and the result of Karma.

"Thirumurugatṟuppadai" reveals to us that they had a divine mind coupled wlth an aesthetic sense as the result of which they could feel in their heart of hearts spiritual awe and enjoy the sight of Lord Murugan in the scenic beauty of the hills and mountains. In such a natural and pleasant atmosphere which was far from the madding crowd, they could come nearer to God and have a harmonious spiritual communion. In short, the religion which was embraced by the ancient Tamils, whatever might be its name, was universal in appeal and rational in character.

Culture:

The term 'culture' has a deep connotation and a wide denotation. The Tamil culture has four stages touching four aspects viz., Virtue (ethical), wealth (material), Pleasure (emotional) and Salvation (spiritual). Though there are differences of opinion regarding the order of the first three all the Tamil savants are at one ragarding the existence and necessity of the four stages. Some of the ancient poets have mentioned and enumerated only the first three, leaving the readers to understand the fourth by themselves. Whatever may be the order of the four stages, it is obvious that they are all connected harmoniously with one another and train the people to achieve a well-balanced development of

their faculties. St. Pavanathi, a renowned grammarian of the 13th century, has clarified that the purpose of learning is to acquire virtue, wealth, pleasure and salvation. It is a matter of delight to note that the Tamil culture is a harmonious synthesis of materialism and spiritualism. Wealth and pleasure form the material aspect and virtue and salvation from the spiritual aspect of the Tamil culture. Thiruvaḷḷuvar has hit the nail on the head by saying that man requires wealth and grace in order to enjoy in the material and spiritual world respectively (Kuṛaḷ 247). In short, the Tamil culture consists of all the good qualities which are practicable in reality and noble in outlook.

Athletics :

Physical culture is a basic culture. 'A sound mind in a sound body' was not unknown to the ancient Tamils. A deep perusal of the Śangam Literature will reveal that the Tamils of yore participated in various athletic activities with great interest and profound pleasure and improved their physical personality. Well developed physical personality was one of the basic qualifications of an ambassador (Kuṛaḷ 684). Physical strength coupled with bravery was considered as a hallmark in the matrimonial field. The young man of the sylvan land (Mullai) had to face the ferocious and strong bull in an organised combat and bring it under his control in order to win a bride for his marriage. The young man was generally mentioned by the name 'bull' implying thereby he should possess sufficient strength and man-power (Puṛanānooṛu 312). Apart from the sportsman of Herculean muscles, the ancient Tamil Nadu witnessed active and energetic sportswomen who have distinguished themselves in verious atheletic activities. They were experts in the art of playing ball, swinging etc., as evidenced from Śilappathikāram. (Śilappathikāram Canto. 29: Stanzas 20 to 25). Men and women dived and swam in the fresh waters of the River Vaigai at Madurai and enjoyed to their hearts' content the Kaleidoscopic variety of aquatic activities (Paripāḍal 10: 71-88). Hence it goes without saying that the ancient Tamils took active part in various sports and games and improved their physical skill, talent and strength and led a long life usefully and joyfully.

Military :

While enumerating the six state agencies, army was given the first place (Kuṛaḷ 381). Courage coupled with patriotism was the basic qualification of a soldier. Physical strength was considered as an additional qualification. A keen perusal of the Military Science revealed in the Śangam Literature discloses the fact that mental aptitude was given a higher priority than the physical fitness at the time of recruitment. Every effort was made to maintain the quality of the army. In other words, the army consisting of a few but the best men was preferred to that of a useless and huge mob. Such is the military secret that has been revealed by Thiruvaḷḷuvar (Kuṛaḷ 763). The mother always felt joy and pride when she heard that her son fought the battle with martial spirit and valour (Puṛanānooṛu 278), The very expression 'Moodhin Mullai' has a military connotation which refers to the valour of women. Though they did not go to the battle-front, they had the military spirit which sprang up from their patriotic sentiments. It was considered an unpardonable and serious disgrace to sustain injuries on the back. On the other hand, sustaining injuries on the chest, fatal though it might be, was considered a unique honour. The battle was fought during the day-light only by previous arrangement and mutual consent. The special feature of the military etiquette was that the soldiers of the opposition regiment who showed a clean pair of heels were not chased. It was considered a dishonour to chase or attack the fleeing soldiers. The soldiers who fought and sacrificed their lives at the battle field were remembered with gratitude. Their statues were installed in their memory (Ainkuṛunooru 552, Kuṛaḷ 771, Puṛanānooṛu 232, 260, 306, 329).

Polity :

The Śangam Age witnessed monarch. It was not an ordinary tyrannical monarch but a benevolent and welfare monarchy in the real sense of the term. Though the ancient Tamil Nadu was a single entity culturally, there were three political entities viz., Chera, Chola and Pāṇḍya Kingdoms. There were also many chieftains who ruled small territories under the control of one

of the three monarchs. The king was mentioned by several names among which the term 'Kavalan' deserves a special analysis. It was two semantic units viz., 'Ka' (protect, defend), and 'valan' (able person) meaning thereby 'able protector'. Hence a king was expected to protect his subjects and defend their faith virtue, culture etc. The word 'Kavalan' more or less corresponds to the English term 'Defender of the Faith'. Though the king was the unquestionable authority of the land, he consulted his council of ministers, poets and elder statesmen and took their advice on important issues. The very fact that Thiruvaḷḷuvar has devoted 10 chapters (100 couplets) dealing with various important aspects of ministry, corrobrates the vital role of the council of ministers in the Government. The ancient Tamil kings ruled the land with a great amount of moral responsibility as evidenced from the words of Chēran Senguṭṭuvan (Śilappadhikāram 25: 100–104). The same thought has been voiced by Shakespeare as: "Uneasy lies the head that wears a crown" (Henry IV–II, III, 131). The prosperity and virtues of the land entirely depend upon the righteousness of the Government. If a king does not govern properly the revenue will diminish and the industies will fall flat (Kuṛaḷ 560). The two terms found in this couplet viz., "apayan" and "aruthozhilor" mean respectively the source of revenue and people affiliated to six occupations viz., agriculture, industries, painting, commerce, education and sculpture.

Economics:

Wealth was considered as one of the four main entities realised by the ancient Tamils. At the individual level, every man worked hard to earn his daily bread and maintained his family. There were many instances where the husband or lover went to distant places to earn wealth leaving his better half at home. Man was expected to render service and work hard (Kuṛunthogai 135). Spending the ancestor's property was considered more shameful than begging (Kuṛunthogai 263). The Chōḷa, Pāṇḍya and Chera Kings improved agriculture, pearl fishery and forest wealth respectively and developed the national economy. They levied reasonable tax. They did not kill the goose that

laid the golden eggs. They were fully aware of the fact that they could not enhance the national income by tax alone nor was it desirable. The only way to improve the national economy was to tap new sources and increase the production in every field. Though many industries were in vogue the ancient Tamil Nadu was based on agricultural economy (Kuṛaḷ 1032). Hence, it can be said that agriculture is our ancient culture which is capable of driving hunger and disease from the land. Thiruvaḷḷuvar has envisaged such a type of land (Kuṛaḷ 734). The economic principles realised by the Tamil Savants were based on sound reason, which can stand the test of time. One should live within one's means (Kuṛaḷ 478); wealth should be earned by righteous means (Kuṛaḷ 755) and the purpose of earning money is not to hoard but to distribute it for the welfare of the people (Puṛanānooṛu 180). These are some of the main economic principles propounded in Tamil literature. The ancient Tamil cities like Puhar and Madurai were the seats of fabulous wealth. Many poets embraced some occupation or other and maintained the dignity of labour. Idleness was viewed with contempt and labour, whatever might be its nature, was observed with great respect. Inequalities among various occupations were not felt. In short, the economic history of the ancient Tamils can be summed up thus: they worked hard, earned well, spent usefully and enjoyed their life.

Commerce:

It is an acknowledged historical fact that ancient Tamil Nadu had commercial intercourse with different countries of the world. Exports and imports of various commodities were in full swing. Kāvēripoompaṭṭinam was not only a great sea port of the Chōḷa Kingdom but also an international emporium with a cosmopolitan atmosphere (Paṭṭinappālai LL 213–218). The Chēra country exported pepper to Greece and Rome by ships and in return, she received bullions of Gold. Musire was a sea port of the Chēra land, full of commercial activities (Ahanānooṛu 149). Imayavaramban and Chenguṭṭuvan improved the foreign trade. Exchange of articles was the special feature in the field of trade

and commerce. For instance paddy (the produce of the arable land) and salt (of the litteral tract) were exchanged commercially (Ahanānooṟu 140). The famous market at Madurai, the Pāṇḍyan Capital, was planned so perfectly that every row was assigned to a particular category of commodity. There was a flag with a specific emblem indicating the article sold in the shop There were day markets and evening markets in Madurai where all the articles under the sun were sold. The merchants were given moral encouragement in their commercial enterprises by the Kings. The successful merchants were honoured with the title 'Etti'. They enjoyed recognition from every section of the society. The speciality of the trade and commerce of ancient Tamil Nadu was that each and every code of commercial ethics was respected in practical life. Perfect justice was maintained in every commercial transaction (Paṭṭinappalai LL 206–212). Thiruvaḷḷuvar has indicated precisely the inevitability of righteousness in the field of commerce (Kuṟaḷ 120). In fine, commerce and trade flourished in such a handsome manner because they were based on perfect virtue and completely free from black–marketing, food adulteration and other malpractices. This was the only secret of the glorious success of the ancient Tamil merchants.

Industries:

The ancient Tamil Nadu witnessed various industries which determined the economic standard of the country. Small scale cottage industries flourished in every village of the land. Various metal works, carpentry, weaving, tailoring, leather works and manufacture of variety of instruments characterised the industrial field of ancient Tamil Nadu. Among these industries weaving occupied the most outstanding position. In fact, weaving was second only to agriculture. The commentary of Śilappadhikāram throws a flood of light on 36 varieties of clothes manufactured in the Śangam Age (Śilappadhikāram 14: 106–112 commentary of Adiyarkkunallar). A linguistic analysis of all the words referring to cloth will reveal the significant role of ancient textiles. The various similes which are employed in the description of the texture of cloth corroborate beyond a shadow of doubt the

excellence and fineness of quality. Textile industries were not the monopoly of men. Women too, took an active part in the industries. The Women weavers were known as 'Paruthi Peṇḍir' (Puṛanānooṛu 125, 326). There was a particular colony at Madurai which was occupied by weavers. It was popularly known as 'aruvai veedhi' (Śilappadhikāram 14 : 207). A part of Mayavaram (Thanjavur District) is today known as Koranad, a word derived from Koorai Nāḍu, which means the land of textiles. There is another village near Kumbakonam in the same district by the name 'Thugili', which has derived from the word 'Thugil', which means cloth. Even today it is a small textile centre. Industries in general and textiles in particular, flourished in ancient Tamil Nadu. To all intents and purposes, textiles (cloth) were placed on a par with agriculture (food) (Puṛanānooṛu 189). There is every reason to believe that in Malaya, Tamilians are mentioned 'Kileng', a word that has derived from Kalingam, because the ancient Tamil Nadu exported clothes to eastern countries in large quantity.

Fine Arts :

The Tamil culture was classified into three parts viz., literature, music and drama (Muthamizh). It is a unique feature of the Tamil culture. The human faculty consists of intellectual, emotional and physical aspects. They are known as thinking, feeling and willing respectively. The intellectual faculty blossoms into literature, the emotional part results in music and the physical aspect leads to drama ; music and drama come under the jurisdiction of Fine Arts. Music, which occupies the central position, serves harmonious link between literature and drama. The word 'isai' which implies music has a significant meaning. It means "to make the audience yield" to amplify it, music should have a melodious capacity and a harmonious appeal to the very core of the heart of the audience, and create immense pleasure (Porunaṛatṛuppadai : LL 21-22). The very fact that all the Śangam Literatures are in the form of poetry indicates clearly that the ancient Tamil writers had a musical bent of mind. The sentiments as well as thoughts were expressed through the metrical

medium. The four main metrical forms–veṇba, agaval, vañji and kalippa–are based on perfect music. There were three main categories of musical instruments viz., wind instrument, string instrument and percussion instrument represented by flute, lyre and drum respectively. The unique feature of these three words is that the special letter which is peculiar to Tamil, is found in every word. Hence, it corroborates the high antiquity of Tamil music. Tholkāppiyam and Pērāsiriyer's commentary throw ample light on technicalities of drama. Śilappadhikāram, an epic in tripartitic Tamil, gives a Kaleidoscopic variety of music, minute details in dance, aesthetics and drama. The canto on Arangettram and the commentaries on it form a book of knowledge in fine arts. Painting was one of the fine arts which deserves a special mention. Paripāḍal gives a detail of paintings on various themes. The sketch was known as 'Punaya Oviyam' (Maṇimēkalai 16 : 131). Apart from these fine arts, sculpture, embroidery and various types of workmanship were in vogue. The various fine arts that flourished proclaim to the world the emotional development and aesthetic advancement of the Tamils of yore.

In short, the Tamil Society of the Śangam Age was of a very high order.

THE DEITIES OF LITTLE AND GREAT TRADITIONS IN A THANJAVUR VILLAGE*

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Koothur is an agrarian village located on the northern bank of the river Kaveri in the north-western part of Thanjavur district in Tamil Nadu. The religious life of the village is centred around the worship of deities belonging to both Little and Great Traditions which are having constant interaction between each other (Marriot : 1955).

In Koothur the deities of Little Tradition include numerous Gods and Goddesses of indigenous origin in terms of their names and patterns of worship. These deities of indigenous origin are exclusively worshipped by Non-Brahmins and Adi-dravidas. The village also includes a few deities of Sanskritic origin and they are worshipped primarily by Brahmins, secondarily by non-Brahmins and rarely by Adi-dravidas.

A brief ethnographic report about the available deities in the village is presented below :

I. DEITIES OF INDIGENOUS ORIGIN

1. Kāḷiamman Koil of Kallan Street

It is a small well-built temple which has got a female deity called Kāḷiamman. The temple is located at the beginning of Kallar street. The deity is exclusively worshipped by the non-Brahmins and they observe an annual festival during April by taking out the deity around the streets of non-Brahmins and

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sacrificing goats and sheeps. The deity is commonly worshipped for bringing good life, good monsoon and good returns of the cultivation of paddy. The Pandaram who belongs to a service caste is the traditional priest of the deity.

2. Kāḷiamman Koil of Adi-dravida street

It is also a small well-built temple having a female deity called Kāḷiamman. The temple is situated at the entrance of an old settlement of Ādi-dravidas. The deity is exclusively worshipped by the Ādi-dravidas in a similar pattern as the non-Brahmins worship their Kāḷiamman.

3. Karuppu Koil

It is a small shrine of a male deity. It is located at a distance of one kilometre from the main settlement towards east surrounded by the paddy fields. The shrine consists of an iron bar with an arrow-head erected vertically over a raised platform having holes for keeping oil lamps. The deity is considered as the care-taker of the paddy fields of the village. The deity also remains as a family deity for four of the Kallar families.

4. Thanial Amman

It is a female deity found by the side of the above Karuppu koil. The shrine includes a brick vertically erected inside a small tower. It is also worshipped as a family by a few Kallars.

5. Muniandavan Koil

Muniandavan is a male deity and its shrine is located at the eastern end of the village settlement. Similar to Karuppu koil a raised platform and an iron bar with an arrow-head worshipped as Muniandavan by non-Brahmins and Ādi-dravidas. The deity is considered to be a symbol of fear related to breach of community rules.

6. Nallan Mēdai

There is a pool of shrines of village deities on the south-western part of the village. Nallan Mēdai is one of the shrines. Nallan

is a male deity which is worshipped by the Kallars as 'pattavan'. Pattavan is one who sacrificed his life for the sake of others. Nallan is said to be an Ādi-dravida servant of a Kallar family and he was killed in a quarrel while defending his master's family. He is now worshipped as a 'Pattavan' by a Kallar family bearing the title of Cholagar.

7. Karuppu Mēdai

It is also one of the shrines found by the side of Nallan Mēdai. A row of iron bars with arrow-heads vertically erected over a raised platform and tied together with an iron chain worshipped as Karuppu. It is a male deity worshipped as family God by a Group of Kallars bearing the title called 'Nattar'.

8. Karuvappa Naicken and Rajathi Mēdai

These are family deities of a Kallar family worshipped in memory of Karuvappa Naicker who was in love with a princess called Rajathiammal, who committed sucide when the king threatend to kill them.

II. THE GODS AND GODDESSES OF GREAT TRADITION

1. Sāstha-Pillaiyar temple

It is the eldest and biggest temple of the village located on the bank of the river Kāvēri at the south-western part of the village settlement. Originally the temple had only one male Sanskritic God called Pillaiyar. Sastha is a male deity added to this temple in the latter period. It is said that the statue of Sastha was found in the river Kāvēri and it was brought and installed in the nearby Pillaiyar temple as a principal deity replacing the Pillaiyar to the left side of the sanctum.

It is also said that Sāstha is a sanskritized deity and its origin is traced from an indigenous male deity called Iyappan and it is also worshipped as Iyyanar which is known as the protector of the village, Thus the Sāstha-Pillaiyar temple of Koothur village is found to be an outcome of the interaction between Great and Little Traditions (Marriot : 1955).

The Sāstha and the Pillaiyar of this temple are mainly worshipped by Brahmins and non-Brahmins. The Ādi-dravidas used to worship these deities only by standing outside the temple. In 1959 a group of Ādi-dravidas entered into this temple for which special rites of purification were performed later. Kurukkaḷ who is a Brahmin is the traditional priest of the temple.

2. Lakshmi Narāyana Perumāl temple

It is also an old temple located at the very entrance of Agrahāram. Lakshmi is the Goddess and Narāyana Perumal is the God. These deities are exclusively worshipped by Brahmins in the village. The temple is now found to be demolished since its trustee who is a Brahmin had emigrated to Delhi.

3. Śiva Temple

The temple is located nearer to the Agrahāram on the western part of the village. The principal male deity of this temple is called Narāyanagirishwarar and the female deity is called Ambigai. The temple has also got another male deity called Vishwartha Swami and female deity called Visālākshi. The Brahmins are the principal worshippers of this temple on their way back to their homes after taking bath in the river Kāvēri. The non-Brahmins visit this temple occasionally, whereas the Ādi-dravidas seldom go to this temple.

4. Pillaiyar temple of Kallar Street

This temple has been recently constructed by Kallars of Koothur village and it is located nearer to their main street. It has got a male God with an elephant face. The deity is worshipped by all indiscriminate of caste as and when they cross the temple. It may be the fact that the Pillaiyar is a sanskritic deity whereas it is also significant to note that it is treated as an indigenous deity in almost all villages in Thanjavur district since it is being worshipped by the people of both Great Tradition and Little Tradition.

The above empirical observation on the distribution of Gods and Goddesses in Koothur village has helped the author of this paper to answer the following questions:

(i) Why does an Agrahāram start with a Perumal temple?

(ii) Why does a Kallar street start with a Kāliamman temple?

(iii) Why does an Ādi-dravida street also start with a Kali-amman temple?

The above picture is a common feature of a Thanjavūr village. Agrahāram starts wih a Perumal temple because its people and the deity belong to Great Tradition, whereas the Kallar and the Ādi-dravida streets start with a Kāliamman temple because the people and their deity belong to Little Tradition.

Thus, the physical structure of a Thanjavur village is found to be reflecting its religious structure as it reflects its social structure (Beteille: 1965) (Karuppaiyan: 1973).

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(iii) Why does an Ādi-dravida street also start with a Kāliamman temple?

The above picture is a common feature of a Thanjavur village. Agrahāram starts with a Perumal temple because its people and the deity belong to Great Tradition; whereas the Kallar and the Ādi-dravida streets start with a Kāliamman temple because the people and their deity belong to Little Tradition.

Thus the religious structure of a Thanjavur village is found to be reflecting its religious structure as it reflects its social structure (Béteille: 1965; Karuppaiyan: 1973).

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AḌIMAIKAḶ (SLAVES) IN THE CHŌḶA TEMPLES AND MAṬHAS

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The term slave has significant meaning in the history of the Chōḷa period. Unlike the slaves of other countries who were illtreated or given forced labour, the slaves of the Chōḷa period did their service to the temple or *maṭha* voluntarily. They submitted themselves to the temple and did service to the temple pleasurably and devotionally. In most of the cases, they voluntarily sold themselves as slaves to the temple. But the background for selling themselves to the temple service as slaves would differ according to the wishes of the concerned. Some sold themselves to the temple at the time of famine or to fulfill their prayer.

There were also slaves in the houses and palaces, but the real significance of such slavery was purely religious. In short the slaves of the Chōḷa period, were slaves not to human beings but to god.

Inscriptional evidences prove the fact that the temples of the Chōḷa period had a large number of slaves. They were attached to the temples. The numbers may be more than hundred in single temple. For instance an epigraph[1] found at Vīraṭṭānēśvara at Koṛakkai datable to the 19th year of Rājarāja III gives a list of slaves both male and female, numbering more than hundred owned and served in the same temple. They were made over to it by an order of the king, by purchase from several people and by gifts from private individuals in the 9th and 10th years of Kulōttuṅga III, in the 7th year of Rājādhirāja II and in the reign of Rājarāja III. Here the circumstances connected with

1. *ARE.* No. 223 of 1917.

their sale to the temple and the prices paid for them are not stated.[2]

Branding of the Slaves:

Another interesting feature to establish the fact that the slaves who served in the temple had no freedom to go out of the temple service is found in some inscriptions. The slaves were branded according to the nature of the temple where she or he served. The persons served in the 'Siva temple were branded with a *Sūla* (trident) and the slaves who served in the Vaiṣṇava temple with *Chakra.*[3] Besides the temples the king also owned slaves and they were branded with other distinguished mark i.e. *ilachchinai* (*laṇchana*)[4]. The slaves of the temples should be in the temples and they were not permitted to serve in the king's palace. For instance an epigraph[5] found at Chittūr dated in the 18th year of Kulōttuṅga I mentions that the *Dēvaraḍiyār* of Tirukkālattu temple and her daughter were taken to the king's palace, but they were sent back to the temple by a complaint of an officer that they had *Sūla lañchana* and hence they must be in the Śiva temples.

The slaves of this period may also be divided into two divisions i.e. temple slaves and household slaves. They became slaves voluntarily or owing to unavoidable circumstances. The kinds of slaves are different in nature and they can be classified under the following categories.

One purchased: Inscriptions[6] mention that women were purchased as *dēvaraḍiyār* for some *Kāsus.* For instance an inscription[7] found at Tiruchcheṅgāṭṭaṅguḍi dated in the 12th year of

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2. *ARE.* 1918, Part II, Para 41.
3. *ARE* No. 230 of 1921 ; 1921-22, part II, para 9.
4. *ARE* 1921-22, Part II, Para 19.
5. *ARE.* No. 141 of 1922.
6. *ARE.* Nos. 80 of 1913 and 409 of 1925.
7. *ARE.* No. 80 of 1913.

Rājarāja III mentions that five ladies and their descendants were sold to the same temple for dehusking paddy in the temple. Another inscription[8] from Vēdāraṇyam datable to the 3rd year of Rājarāja III refers to the purchase of five males and females and their descendants by the same temple.

Slaves by presentation :

Slaves were also presented to the temple. Here the slaves should have been purchased from some persons who could own slaves, for his house work. Slaves were also presented to the temple by the Chōḻa kings.[9]

One maintained during famine :

Poverty also made some people slaves. A few inscriptions are available to prove this. There was a severe famine during the rule of Kulōttuṅga III which resulted in the unusual case of a Veḷḷaḷan of Tiruppāmpuram selling himself and his two daughters as slaves to the temples for a loan of 110 *kāsus.*[10]

Sale of the whole family members :

Sometimes a whole family including children sold themselves to the temple. One family of such type consisting of seven persons had sold themselves to the temple of Mēlapperumpallam, Tañjāvūr district.[11]

Another group of persons numbering fifteen sold themselves for thirty *kāsus* to the same temple.[12]

Price of a slave :

A number of inscriptions throw light on the price of slaves. The price varies from place to place. An inscription[13] from

8. *ARE.* No. 499 of 1904.
9. T. V. Sadasiva Paṇḍārattar, *Pirkālacholar Varalāru,* Annamalai University, 1977 – p. 87.
10. *ARE.* No. 86 of 1911 ; Part II, para 29.
11. *ARE.* No. 218 of 1925.
12. *ARE.* No. 219 of 1925.
13. *ARE.* No. 217 of 1925.

Mēlapperumpallam, Tañjāvūr district record a sale of six persons by a certain Sāmaṉ Taṭṭaṉ of Naṅgur alias Śrīpadadudulichaturvēdimaṅgaḷam for 13 *kāsus*. Each person was sold for 2⅙ *kāsus*. Another inscription[14] from the same place refers to the sale of seven persons including seller herself to the local Siva temple for 30 *kāsus* by a lady called Arayan Peruṅguḍi with her husband chandisvarap Peraiyār of Ambar as her agent. But here the price of a slave is 4 2/7 *kāsus*. Another inscription[15] which is also from the same place refers to the sale of 15 persons by a certain Nambanambikāḍugāl-Naṅgai, wife of a Veḷḷaḷa residing at Chōḷa pāṇḍyanallur comprising herself, her daughter, grandson, his children and others for 30 *kāsus*. Here each person was sold for 2 *kāsus*. From the study of the above lists of the inscriptions, the price of a slave differs due to various causes, which may on the basis of the community or the works that they had to undertake. Though the slaves were considered to be the property of a person, there is no reference about the purchase of the slaves from other countries.

The slaves worked in various manner in the temples. They did their service to god or goddess by cleaning the temple, bringing water, decorating the surroundings, making gardens etc.[16]

Besides the above mentioned works, some looked after the lamps,[17] some to conduct festivals,[18] some to husk paddy[19] (meant for the offerings to god) and some to wash cloths of the gods and goddesses.[20]

The slaves were not only confined to do temple services inside the temple but they were ordained to do the work in the lands.

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14. *ARE*. No. 218 of 1925.
15. *ARE*. No. 219 of 1925.
16. Appadurai, *Economic Condition of Medieval South India*, Madras University.
17. *ARE*. No. 248 of 1906.
18. *ARE* No. 274 of 1910.
19. *ARE*. Nos. 122 of 1912 and 370 of 1916.
20. *ARE*. No. 578 of 1916.

The term found in the inscriptions as *maṭha Aḍimai* (slaves of the *maṭhas*) refers to the existence of slaves both men and women in the *maṭhas* for cultivating certain lands set apart for the maintenance of a *maṭha*. An inscription[21] of Kulōttuṅga III from Vetāranyēśvara temple at Tiruvālaṅgāḍu refers to the sale of men and women as slaves (*Aḍimai*) for cultivating lands set apart for the maintenance of a *maṭha*. It registers a gift by purchase of 36 persons as labourers (maṭha aḍimai) to the temple of Tiruvālaṅgadu Uḍaiyār by Varadarayar, the head of Allūr.

Another inscription,[22] a supplement to the early inscription is interesting. It mentions that some more slaves (*Maṭha aḍimai*) were given as gift by three persons at the demand of the same maṭha to compensate the heavy work in cultivation of *maṭha* lands.

Devaradiyars :

The Dancing girls are referred to as *Taḷichchērip peṇḍukal* or *Dēvaradiyār* in the epigraphs. They did their service in the temples, hence the name Dēvaradiyār. They devoted their life for doing service in the temple. They were not allowed to marry. They were endowed with lands[23] and house[24] or house sites. They were also given some privileges but were expected to do service in the temple. They were purchased sometimes by the temples[25] or sometimes the entire family itself dedicated to the service of the temple[26] or were given as presentation[27]. Some women sold themselves to the temple.[28] They were also transferred from one place to another at the order of the king.[29]

21. *ARE.* No. 90 of 1925-26.
22. *ARE.* No. 91 of 1926-26.
23. *ARE.* Nos. 59 of 1923 and 95 of 1926.
24. *ARE.* No. 289 of 1910.
25. *ARE.* No. 223 of 1916; 1917-18, Part II. Para 41.
26. *ARE.* No. 230 of 1922.
27. *ARE.* No. 49 of 1936-37.
28. *ARE.* No. 147 of 1912, Part II, Para 24, p. 99.
29. *S.I.I.* Vol. II - No. 66.

From the economic point of view the life of the *dēvaraḍiyār* was as much one of subservience as slaves in general.

Servant maid :

The inscriptions mention that servant maid of this period were called as *Peṇḍāṭṭi.* The woman who served in the kitchen is called *Aḍukkalaippeṇḍu* ;[30] those who served the king is called Aṇukkiyar[31] and those who served the queen is called *Tāti.*[32]

To sum up the slaves of the Chōḻa period had enjoyed some privileges but did not overlook their superiors. After entering into the temple service as slaves, they did their work sincerely and devotionally. They took everything as the order of god. They never hesitated to go to the field to plough and reap ; but at the same time they never failed to fulfill their necessary demands.

30. *ARE.* No. 11 of 1914.

31. T. V. Sadasiva Pandarattar, *Pirkālachōḻar Varalāṟu,* Annamalai University, 1975, p. 123.

32. *ARE.* 1938-39, Part II, p. 79.

PROVERBS – A STUDY IN THE FOLK PSYCHOLOGY OF A TRIBAL COMMUNITY

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To the civilized folk the tribals represent a culture characterized by primitive thinking and action. The uniqueness of tribal culture and its continuity over the years, is due to their social isolation from the strains of civilization. As a result the tribals remain tradition-bound with all their merits and demerits. The life-style of any community can also be ascertained to a great extent by the study of the proverbs, folk songs, folk tales and folk ways (Barnow V 1963 and Pelto. P. J. 1970). Proverbs convey practical wisdom and reflect the foresight of wisemen (Salt L.E. and Robert S. 1956). In an earlier study of the proverb (Kalanidhi M. S. 1977), it was found that the proverbs provide one of the sources of psychological data for observation and analysis. Similarly it is felt that a study of the proverbs among the tribals would reflect upon the way the tribals think, feel and act. With this perspective in view, the proverbs of Pulayas, a Tribal Community living in the forest regions of the Udumalpet Taluk, Coimbatore District, Tamil Nadu have been presented and analysed. These proverbs were collected in the course of a series of interviews and participant observation with Pulayas in different social contexts. The content and contextual significance of these proverbs were further confirmed by their wider use during social gatherings like festivals, ceremonies, religious rituals, quarrels and moments of crises in life-situation. While making a survey of these proverbs one is struck at once by the wisdom, patience, hope, aspirations and determination of these tribal people. Simple in form, but rich in thought,, these proverbs have an informative and educative value for the otherwise civilized but discontented people.

The social life of Pulayas is characterized by a closely-knit interpersonal relationship expressed in the form of community settlements, the people in each settlement having a strong identity with their local settlement in particular and their tribal community in general. The strong Kinship relationship professed and practised by every Pulaya man and woman is probably based on the social necessity for survival and preservation of the cultural identity. The following proverbs reveal their concern and respect for their society.

tāi irrukka kulam irukka othuṅgalāmā?
தாய் இருக்க குலம் இருக்க ஒதுங்கலாமா
(emphasising the importance of Kinship relationship)

adimaram oṉru irunthālthān niḻal kidaikkum
அடிமரம் ஒன் று இருந்தால்தான் நிழல் கிடைக்கும்
(reflecting the high regard for elders who are the pillars of the society).

pankit thiṉṉālthan pasi āṛum
பங்கித் தின்னுல்தான் பசி ஆறும்
(In view of the scarcity of food materials, whatever food materials available, it should necessarily be shared with others).

Nālum pōla nadakkaṇum
நாலும் போல நடக்கணும்
(Confirmity in thought and action)

Though the affiliation need is very strong among the Pulayas, the individual is encouraged to stand on his own legs as revealed in the following proverb.

eli vanku irunthālum tani vanku vēnum
எலி வங்கு இருந்தாலும் தனி வங்கு வேணும்

It is interesting to note the social custom of Pulayas to build a separate hut for his family even before his marriage. Immediately after marriage, the young couple move into the hut and start an independent family. At the sametime, they maintain a cordial relationship with other families in the settlement. Display of

violence is totally discouraged among Pulayas as reflected in the following proverb.

kathi ōnkiṉalum onnutan ; vettiṉalum onnutan
கத்தி ஓங்கினலும் ஒண்ணுதான்; வெட்டினலும் ஒண்ணுதான்

(The very act of raising the dagger or knife is as bad as hitting the other person).

As a tribe the Pulayas have a strong conviction and determination. With the result they are prepared for any risk that would confront them. The fact that they are risk-conscious does not necessarily lead to anxiety on their part. But it develops a mental set up in them a positive force which prepares them to face and overcome problems. The following proverb emphasises their fore-sight.

ārāyāmal ceitāl āpattu varum
ஆராயாமல் செய்தால் ஆபத்து வரும்

The proverb,

katti cōru ettutu katuvan nāik kūttippōkanum
கட்டிச்சோறு எடுத்து கடுவன் நாயைக்கூட்டிப்போகணும்

reveals how the Pulaya goes for hunting completely prepared with food and a dog for survival and safety respectively.

The proverb mentioned below suggests that the Pulayas are highly risk-conscious and are prepared to meet risks from any corner and life situations.

muṉṉāle varra kallu piṉṉāleyum varum
முன்னலே வர்ர கல்லு பின்னலேயும் வரும்

Pulayas are the most practical minded people as revealed by the proverb,

innikku irruppatu mey ; ṉālaikku irruppatu poy.
இன்னிக்கு இருப்பது மெய்; நாளைக்கு இருப்பது பொய்

(emphasising 'do-it-now' policy against postponement).

Perhaps this is the reason for the Pulayas to share and eat any excess of food available in the same day without any inclination to hoard for the future.

With all their socio-economic limitations and problems, the Pulaya accepts reality wholeheartedly. This may be inferred from the following proverbs.

ākum kālatiltān ākum
ஆகும் காலத்தில்தான் ஆகும்

and

petta vēkatilē vayiru suttāmakumā?
பெத்த வேகத்திலே வயிறு சுத்தமாகுமா?

Pulayas accept the natural happenings like birth and death as inevitable events in life. Their cognitions of the fact that the exact time of birth and the onset of rain cannot be predicted even by God, reflect their mental preparedness throughout. This is revealed by the proverb.

maḻaippērum makkappērum makātēvanukkum teriyātu
மழைப்பேறும் மக்கப்பேறும் மகாதேவனுக்கும் தெரியாது

Pulayas have an optimistic outlook towards life and they are always hopeful of their efforts bearing fruits sometime or later. They fully realize the fact that with a pessimistic outlook one cannot utilize the available resources to one's advantage.

arici irukkutu paruppu irukkutu ākka māttāta calippu irukkutu.
அரிசி இருக்குது பருப்பு இருக்குது ஆக்கமாட்டாத சலிப்பு இருக்குது

With an unflinching faith in the strength of their body and mind, Pulayas always look for the best result even in their maiden attempt. This is expressed in the following proverb.

mutal tōtu muttu vaccu varanum.
முதல் தோடு முத்து வைச்சு வரணும்

Another characteristic of Pulayas is their sense of gratitude as revealed in the proverbs like

tinnavan vīttukku rentakam pannakūtātu.
தின்னவன் வீட்டுக்கு ரெண்டகம் பண்ணக்கூடாது
annattukku vinnakam ceyyātē.
அன்னத்துக்கு விண்ணகம் செய்யாதே

While gossip may be a common phenomenon among them, they never jump to conclusions on the basis of hearsay information. They give enough room for the "benefit of doubt" that either of the two arguments could be correct unless otherwise proved.

palutta marattukkum tinna vauvalukkum tān teriyum.
பழுத்த மரத்துக்கும் தின்ன வெளவாலுக்கும்தான் தெரியும்

Generally speaking, the economic life of Pulayas is characterized by severe hardship and poverty. Their main activities centre on agriculture, honey-collection and collection of forest material. Though natural resources are available in plenty, availing such facility is highly risky and hazardous. Hence Pulayas are forced to accept reality and work hard with a positive hope of gaining income and this is revealed in the proverb.

kashtappattu pātupatta kāppaṇam kitaikkāmal pōkluma?
கஷ்டப்பட்டு பாடுபட்டா காப்பணம் கிடைக்காமே போகுமா ?

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A RARE TAMIL WORK ON CHILD DISEASES

BY

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INTRODUCTION

THIS (1979) being the International Year of the Child, I take pride in introducing to the scholarly world a new and rare palm-leaf manuscript on the diseases that afflict the child during infancy and suitable methods to cure them.

THE BACKGROUND

The medical text whose contents form the subject-matter of this note is entitled *Bala-graha-dosha-Parikarak-Kannadi.*

It was brought to my notice by Shri M. Periyaswamy Neduvandar, a wealthy land-lord of Neḍuvāṇḍārkōṭṭai near Maṉṉārguḍi, a taluk-headquarters in Thañjāvūr district of Tamil Nadu. It formed part of their ancestral collection of palm-leaf records under worship in the puja room of his house.

DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS

The manuscript is complete, written legibly on both sides of palm-leaves, in poetic Tamil with brief prose passages (also in Tamil).

The obverse side of the first leaf gives the title of the work and an illustration of Lord Ganapaṭi seated with His trunk turned to His right.

Then there is a leaf, apparently a later addition, with a one-line statement that the text was verified to be the true copy of the original on Vaikasi 15, 1880 A.D.

The text proper of the manuscript starts from the observse side of the third leaf with an invocatory verse on Lord Ganapati seeking His blessings to those who use the methods in the text.

From the third leaf all the leaves are numbered in Tamil on their obverse sides.

All the leaves from the Title Page have a circular hole on the left (about 6 mm. in diameter) through which a thick thread is inserted. Wooden planks are provided to keep the manuscript in a good state of preservation.

The manuscript starts describing indications for diseases from the first day of child's birth up to the sixteenth birth-day. It is interesting to note that identical diseases are said to attack the child on days, months and years of identical numbers viz., first day, first month, first year and so on. Thus there are totally sixteen sets of data for sixteen (identical) numbers.

The most important thing that should be constantly borne in mind while reading the text is that the work glorifies the Little Tradition in the religious system of the Tamils. Thus it alludes that god-lings and evil-spirits are responsible for child diseases and prescribes magical practices in detail to drive them away.

The magician (-cum doctor?) is instructed to make figurines (*Pāval*) from the prescribed materials, mostly edible. He has to rotate them over the head of the afflicted child seated on its mother's lap and discard the figurines at prescribed places in the village.

Then he is to prepare a Talisman in the prescribed way and tie them over the right hand of the child.

The manuscript specifically states that if the treatment is given in the prescribed way (scrupulous to the letter) immediate relief is guaranteed to the child.

DATE OF THE WORK

The manuscript under discussion does not give the exact date of its composition; nor is there the name of the composer. It simply says that curing methods are given "according to Śāstras".

The only clue for fixing its approximate date of composition is the statement on the second leaf that it was verified to be a true copy of the original manuscript on Vaikāsi 15 in the year 1880 A.D. Hence it should have been composed before that date. Even by modest estimate the work is about two hundred years old.

DISEASES AFFLICTING THE CHILD

Let us now go to the important part of the work describing child diseases and methods to cure them.

For every of the sixteen sets of data is given the age of the child, the evil spirit that causes the disease, indications on the body of the child, method to prepare the figurine, the *mantra* to propitiate the relevant evil-spirit, place where the figurine should be discarded, the method to prepare the Talisman and the *mantra* to be chanted before tying it on the child's hand.

Treatment must be given on fixed dates of the week only. The sex of the figurine is fixed for each evil spirit also.

Basic data for preparing and disposal of the figurines are tabulated below :

TABLE—I

S.No.	Age of the Child	Name of the Evil Spirit	Details about the figurine		
			Sex	Day of Treatment	Where to discard the figurine
1	I	DAKSHIVATCHY (*Mōhanāṅgi*)	MALE	SUNDAY	RIVER BANK
2	II	VAITHRI NILA KANTI (*Durga*)	MALE	MONDAY	BHAIRAVA TEMPLE (at 9 P.M.)
3	III	VIRODASANNI (*Kāli*)	FEMALE	MONDAY	IN FRONT OF GROVE (to the west of the village–In the evening)
4	IV	RUDRAKALAGNI (*Bhairavi*)	FEMALE	TUESDAY	GRAVEYARD (at Noon)
5	V	AKASABADRAJINNU	FEMALE	SUNDAY	IN PIDARI TEMPLE (In the evening)
6	VI	VAITHRI	MALE	SUNDAY	IN FRONT OF GROVE (To the west of the village–In the evening)
7	VII	RUDRAGOWRI (*Mariamman*)	FEMALE	TUESDAY	GRAVEYARD (At Noon)
8	VIII	SUPRAMATANGI (*Bhagavati*)	MALE	MONDAY	AYYANAR TEMPLE (in the evening)

9	IX	GUNATTIVAYAGNI (KUDORI)	FEMALE	SUNDAY	WESTERN BANK OF POND (to the west of village–In the evening)
10	X	AGANJIKALANGI (*Rudriṇi*)	FEMALE	TUESDAY	EAST (In the evening)
11	XI	PANCHAMIPADIRI (*Mahākāḷi*)	MALE	FRIDAY	PIPUL TREE (at the junction of four roads–In the evening)
12	XII	UTCHANGI (*Nīli*)	MALE	MONDAY	NORTH (at the junction of three streets–In the night)
13	XIII	UTCHANGI (*Piḍāri*)	FEMALE	TUESDAY	IN FRONT OF COW SHED (North of village–at Noon)
14	XIV	MADAN (*Ugraviran*)	MALE	FRIDAY	AT THE JUNCTION OF THREE LANES.
15	XV	PĒCHIAMMAN (*Mayanarudri*)	FEMALE	SUNDAY	UNDER THE NEEM TREE.
16	XVI	DEIVAKANNI (*Bālamōhini*)	FEMALE	FRIDAY	THROW ALONG WITH 21 LEMONS

Note: The age of the child may be days, months and years of the relevant number after birth. Every evil-spirit has a separate *mantra* which has to be chanted 108 times, the Talisman placed in front of it and then the figurine has to be discarded as indicated in the Table.

TABLE II

Set Number	Indications and Prescriptions
I	**Indications:** Fever, Vomitting, No appetite for mother's milk, A false shine all over the body, Not able to open eyelids, Weeps like cat's cry, Loose motion. **Prescription:** Mix curd and salt to cooked raw rice and prepare Male Pāvai. Place it inside a new pot. Decorate it with earlobes, garlands, black cloth, five-coloured thread etc., offer pulses, cooked rice, mutton, egg, bread, fruits, betels and a coin. Chant the mantra as prescribed in Table-III. Place the child on its mother's lap, repeat the name of evil spirit 7 times and rotate the Pāvai 9 times over their heads. Discard it as specified in Table-I. The *Nayuruvi* is plucked with roots; yellow thread is tied over it. Draw the chakra and place *Nayuruvi* within it and prepare a Talisman. Offer beaten rice, ground nut, betels, flowers, cocoanut, etc. and chant the relevant mantra 108 times. The Talisman is then decorated with three-coloured thread and tied over the right hand of the afflicted child.
II	**Indications:** Loose Motion, Stomach expands, Heavy vomitting, Sudden loss of weight, High fever with profuse sweating, Weeps in terror. **Prescription:** Green leaves of *Tumbai* and *Kuppaimeni* are boiled with rice, mixed with goat's milk and Male Pāvai is made. It is decorated as above. Gingelly, Jaggery, raw

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Set Number	Indications and Prescriptions

rice, pulses, egg, mutton, liquor, fruits, cocoanut, bread and tobacco are offered to it. A lamp with 5 faces and filled with ghee is placed near it. The name of spirit is repeated 11 times, a cock is offered and the mantra is repeated 12 times. It is rotated 9 times over the child's head. It is discarded as specified.

A medicinal herb *Veḷai* is plucked with roots, the chakra plate is covered above that, decorated with three-coloured thread. Offerings are made and it is tied as above.

III **Indications :**

High temperature in chest region, eyes reddened, no appetite for mother's milk, loose whitish motion, body pain with indications of fit, loss of body-weight.

Prescription :

One measure of boiled rice is mixed with flour and mutton for preparing a female *Pāvai,* decorated as above with red cloth. Cooked rice, greens, mutton, egg, are bread are offered. Coin is placed near it. A black cock is offered to it. Mantra is chanted 16 times. A thallus plant with five branches is lit with lamp (ghee) and placed near it. Child placed facing east. Name of evil-spirit and mantra are repeated 108 times. It is discarded.

A tender drum-stick plant is plucked with roots placed inside the yantra plate and decorated. Offerings are made, and it is tied over the right hand.

IV **Indications :**

Loose motion like kernel pieces, weeps continuously, Foaming in mouth, Fever with severe pain in chest region. Shivering all over the body.

Set Number	Indications and Prescriptions
	Prescription : Cooked rice mixed with flour and cow's ghee to prepare female *Pāvai.* Decorated as above with green cloth. Rice, mutton, beaten rice, pulses, *Vēthili* leaves, liquor, cigar etc. are offered to it. 9 paise coin placed near it, A dotted cock is then offered. Child placed facing north. Mantra chanted 108 times. It is then rotated 9 times over them and discarded as specified. A medicinal herb called *Nattai–Sūri* is plucked with roots placed inside the yantra plate. Flowers, betels, coins, fruits, beaten–rice, ground–nut, cocoanut are offered to it. Mantra repeated 108 times. It is then tied.
V	**Indications :** Weeps with difficulty, No proper digestion, No appetite for mother's milk, loose motion, Fever with dried mouth and great pain in chest region. Burns (*Karappāṉ*) all over the body. **Prescription :** Raw rice flour mixed with cow's milk to make female Pāvai. It is placed inside a new pot and decorated as above. Poṅgal, jaggery, pulses, betels, fruits, flowers, red–coloured cock are offered to it. Child placed facing north. Lemon is offered. Mantra repeated thrice. Discarded as specified. The plant called *Ōrilait–Tāmarai* is plucked with root placed inside the yantra plate. Decorated, offerings are made to it and it is tied.
VI	**Indications :** False shining all over the body, Profuse sweating resulting in thirst, Fever with great pain on the spines and chest regions. Stomach expansion and swelling in feet too.

Set Number	Indications and Prescriptions

Prescription :

A Male Pāvai is made from the mixture of cooked rice and greens like *Tutuvēḷai, Iluppai* etc. It is decorated as above with black cloth. Cooked rice, greens, mutton, ground-nut, beaten-rice, egg, bread and cigar are offered. Then a black coloured cock is offered. Mantra is chanted 22 times. Thallus plant with three branches is lit with lamp (ghee) near it. Child placed facing east. Rotated six times over their heads and discarded as specified.

A tender *Kuppaimēṉi* plant is decorated and placed inside the yantra plate. Offerings are made. Mantra is chanted 108 times and tied.

VII **Indications :**

High temperature, weeps with difficulty, Visible depression at the top portion of head, uneasy eyes, greenish shining all over the body, Body shivering.

Prescription :

Raw rice flour is used to make the female Pavai. Decorated as above. Cooked rice, cock, mutton, bread, beaten rice, pulses, egg, liquor, cigar, etc. are offered. Dotted cock is then offered. Child placed facing North. Mantra chanted 108 times. Rotated 9 times over child's head and discarded as specified.

A tender *Vilva* plant is plucked with roots placed inside the yantra plate. Neem leaves and cock's feathers are offered. Talisman placed before the Piḷḷaiyār image made of flour. Decorated. Rice mixed with neem leaves is cooked and offered thrice. Mantra is chanted 108 times. Talisman tied over the right hand of the afflicted child.

Set Number	Indications and Prescriptions
VIII	**Indications :** Tired looks, uneasy eyes, Vomitting and Motion uncontrolled, Fever with severe body pain, Boils all over the body, unable to open eyelids. **Prescription :** Gingelly, flour, *Pāgal* are mixed with cooked rice and cow's milk to prepare Male Pāvai. Decorated as above with purple coloured cloth. Offerings given. Four lamps (ghee) placed in front of it. White coloured cock is then offered. Mantra chanted 108 times. Child placed facing east. Mantra repeated 16 times. Rotated 9 times over their heads and discarded as specified. A tender *Ūmattai* plant is plucked with roots and placed inside the yantra plate. Mantra chanted 108 times and tied as above.
IX	**Indications :** Free yellowish motion, Eye-sore, Legs shiver with pain, Face turns pale, unable to close eyelids, Fever with pain in chest region. **Prescription :** Sandal paste and *Sembāḷai* are mixed with cooked rice to make female Pāvai. Decorated as above with red cloth. Offerings given. Child placed facing east. Mantra chanted 13 times and discarded as specified. A tender *Mukkiraṭṭai* plant is plucked with roots and placed inside the yantra plate. Mantra repeated 108 times and tied as above.
X	**Indications :** Sudden loss of body weight due to pain, free motion and fever. Stomach uneasy. Boils in the shape of spider,

Set Number	Indications and Prescriptions
	Breathes with trouble. Legs and feet become much tired.

Prescription :

Beaten rice, flour and *Nāṉaikiḻangu* are mixed with cooked rice to make female Pāvai. Decorated as above with black cloth. Offerings are made. Child placed facing west. Mantra chanted 108 times. Rotated 9 times and discarded as specified.

A *Nila-Avarai* plant is plucked with roots, placed inside the yantra plate. Offerings are made to it and tied.

XI **Indications** :

High fever, profuse sweating, Yellowish urine, Body swelling, Dried mouth, Stomach troubles, child turns wild quite often.

Prescription :

Cooked *Kuriccāṉi* leaves and buffalo's milk are mixed with cooked rice to make male Pāvai, Decorated as above red coloured cloth. Offerings are made to it. Child placed facing North. Mantra chanted 108 times. Rotated 9 times over their heads and discarded as specified.

A tender *Erukkaṉ* plant is plucked with roots and placed inside the yantra plate. Offerings are made to it. It is then tied.

XII **Indications** :

High temperature mixed with uneasy eyes, vomitting and pain in throat region. Mouth dried. Boils like exema. False shining all over the body. Free yellowish liquid motion.

Set Number	Indications and Prescriptions

Prescription :

Greens and mutton are mixed with cooked rice to make male Pāvai. Decorated as above with green cloth. Offerings are made. Child placed facing east. Mantra chanted 16 times. Rotated 9 times and discarded as specified.

A tender *Vaṭṭa-Kilukiluppai* plant is plucked with roots, placed inside the yantra plate and tied over the right hand of the child after offerings are made to the Talisman.

XIII **Indications :**

Complete change in behaviour of the child, unable to speak coherently, one of the eyes loses power to see, High fever with profuse sweating and motion.

Prescription :

Cow's milk, mutton, liquor are mixed with cooked rice to make female Pāvai. Decorated as above with blue coloured cloth. Offerings are made to it. Child placed facing north. Mantra chanted 16 times. Rotated 9 times over their heads and discarded as specified.

A *Kilukiluppai* plant is plucked with roots, placed inside the yantra plate, mantra repeated 108 times and tied.

XIV **Indications :**

Stomach disorder due to gas and free motion. Sudden loss of weight, improper behaviour like an insane child.

Prescription :

Brinjal, Śiragam and curd are mixed with cooked rice to make Male Pāvai. Decorated as above with white

Set Number	Indications and Prescriptions
	cloth. Offerings are made. Child placed facing west. Mantra chanted 108 times. Rotated 3 times over their heads and discarded as specified.
	A tender *Kuṭṭuviḷa* plant is plucked with roots, placed inside the yantra plate. Offerings are made to it. Mantra repeated 108 times. Talisman tied.
XV	**Indications :**
	Very high fever, child quite uncontrollable, child at times on the verge of death.
	Prescription :
	A female Pāvai is made from flour. Decorated as above. Sacred ash in the shape of cake, kumkum, cooked rice Poṅgal, cocoanut water, sugarcane, fruits, mutton, liquor, bread are offered to it. Cooked rice is mixed with vermilion and kumkum ; five balls made out of it is placed in front of the Pāvai. Child placed facing east. Mantra chanted 16 times. Ii is rotated 9 times over their heads and discarded as specified.
	Then a spot in front of the house is cleaned. A new *Kalaśa* pot is placed over paddy. It is decorated. A miniature model of the child is made from a mixture of cooked rice mixed with vermilion and mutton and decorated with neem leaves. A cock is offered to it.
	The *Tirunitṛuppachai* plant is plucked. 3 Lemons are offered to it. It is placed inside the yantra plate. Offerings are made to it. Mantra chanted 108 times. Talisman is tied.
XVI	**Indications :**
	Diseases in head region. Face turns pale. Many bodily disorders.

Set Number	Indications and Prescriptions
	Prescription : Flour of black-gram is used to make female Pāvai. Decorated as above. Pulses, Raw rice poṅgal, Vaḍai, Dośai, Chitrannam, coconut, sugarcane, are offered to it. Incenses are placed near it. 21 Lemons are rotated thrice along with the Pāvai and discarded. Tee *Kaiyaṅkōṛai* is plucked with roots, placed inside the yantra plate. Offerings are made to it. Mantra is chanted 108 times. It is then tied over the right hand of the afflicted child.

TABLE III

GLOSSARY OF MANTRAS

The basic mantra for all the 16 sets of data is:

" Ōm Ōhkāramāga Ammai Ataṉ
Taṉṉōḍum Āṅkāramum
Āyuśum Atigamuṇḍāgum Svāh"

This is chanted 108 times before discarding the Pāvai as specified in Tabie-I.

Apart from this every set has a specific mantra for annointing the Pāvai as well as preparing the Talisman. Again the text of the inscription on the copper plate piece that is put inside the Talisman varies for each set.

Relevant mantras in Tamil are tabulated below:

Set Number (1)	Mantra for Pāvai (2)	Talisman: Inscription on Copper Plate (3)	Talisman: Mantra for Chanting (108 times) (4)
I	Bāla–griha–mōhanāṅgi Bāla–griha–dōsha-Nivartti–Aiyum–Savvum (12 times)	Śiva	Hari-hari-śiva-śiva Hari Ōm Śiva!
II	Ōm–Śrīyum–Bāla-grihadōsha-Nivartti-Aiyum–Kiliyum–Savvum (16 times)	Hari–Hari–Vasi Ōm–Ōm	Ōm! Dharmadēvā! Taraṇiyālanta-Nambi-Nīlakaṇṭha-Māyā-Svarūpa-Śarva dōṣhamum-Paḍu-Paḍu-Raṅgu-surāṅgu Maśi maśi Naswāya-Śiva
III	Ōm Kāli Bālagriha-dōsha-Nivartti Ōm! Ōm! Am! Im! Aiyam Kiliyum Savvum (108 times)	Not Legible	Ōm! Mara Śiva Ōm! Śivāyah Agōra Kōra-danta rūpāh Uḍambu Kuḷira Sarva dōsha-mum Pari Pari Paḍu Paḍu Paṭshi Paḍu Śiva!
IV	Ōm! Bālagriha Bhairavi Ōm! Am! Kiliyum–Aṅkaiyum Kiliyum Savvum	Kaṇṇavāṇai Paṭshi–Paḍu Paḍu	Hari Ōm! Śivāyah-namah Saṭa Saṭa Pira Pira Agōra Vīrabhadra!
V	Ōm! Jinnu Sakala Bālagrihadōsha-Nivartti (3 times)	Hari Ōm Jata Jata Śiva Namasi-vayah	Om! Nīli Kapāli! Trisūli Candāli Hari Om!
VI	Ōm! Kali! Bālagriha-dōsha-Nivartti Ōm! Am! Um! Aiyum (22 times)	Not Given	Hari! Hari! Kaladuta-Yamadūta Ōm!
VII	Ōm! Bālagriha Bhairavi Ōm! Am! Sriyum Kiliyum Savvum (108 times)	Śiva	Ōm! Śiva! Ippiḷḷaikku Sakala dōshamum Paḍu

Set Number (1)	Mantra for Pāvai (2)	Talisman: Inscription on Copper Plate (3)	Talisman: Mantra for Chanting (108 times) (4)
VIII	Ōm! Bhagavati Aiyum Kiliyum Savvum Bālagrihadōsha-Nivartti (16 times)	Not Legible	Ōm! Ānkāri Vedari Sarvadōsha Nāsi Paṭshi Nāyaka Paḍu Paḍu Svahah!
IX	Ōm! Bālagriha Kudori Aiyum Kiliyum Savvum (13 times)	Am! Ōm! Namah Sivayah!	Ōm! Ānkāri Vēdavēkāli Sarvapakshani Piḷḷaidōsha patshani Paḍu Paḍu Svahah!
X	Ōm! Rudri! Aiyum Kiliyum Savvum	E–Vasi–Vasi	Hari Ōm! Aranasi Agāra mantrā Āsu Gōrarūpa Agōra Paṭshi!
XI	Ōm! Badāgiri Aiyum Kiliyum Savvum (103 times)	Ōm! Sing Ung–Rang-	Hari Ōm! Vang! Aragni Mākāḷi Satyarūpā Amme!
XII	Ōm! Bālagriha Nili! Aiyum Kiliyum Sarva Bālagriha-dōsha-Nivartti (16 times)	Saravana-bhava Ōm!	Ōm! Ām! Devi! Tripura-Mākāḷi Savanandi Amme!
XIII	Mūla mantra is to be repeated (16 times)	Masi–Masi–Vayah Hari Ōm! Dharma-dēva!	Hari Ōm! Adi Śiva, Śiva!
XIV	Mūla mantra to be repeated (5 times)	Śivāya Hari Ōm	Hari Ōm! Māda Va Māsāni Sarvājana-bhayankara Anti-mādā, Ōm–Paṭshi–Paḍu, Sivayah Nama Śiva, Śiva!
XV	Mūla mantra to be repeated (16 times)	Siva	Hari Ōm! Mayāna-rudri Pechuva! Namah Ānkāri Vira Utkanda Petchi Sisu Bhakshini!
XVI	Mūla mantra to be repeated (7 times)	The designs are highly stylised	Ōm! Śiva, Śiva! Bālagriha mōhini! Manmatan Kanni! Kinchin Patci Navi Nārāyani Patci Paḍu Paḍu Svahah

DISCUSSION

The contents of the palm-leaf manuscript work under analysis as described in the above Tables make interesting reading.

It should however be stressed that only the magician is allowed to make Pāvai, chant the mantra, draw the yantra and perform the offerings. The afflicted child is simply brought to his house by the parents with necessary things in cash and kind. At times the magician charges a lump sum amount as overall requirement. It is in a way easier for the parents of the child as they are already disturbed over the child's health and most of them are quite ignorant of the medicinal herbs mentioned in prescriptions.

The work gives drawings too for the yantra as well as specific flower for each of the sixteen sets of data. This writer has those drawings and other relevant data.

Now the basic question arises as to whether such prescriptions would appeal to the modern mind.

It must be remembered at this juncture that most of the child diseases had been and even to-day are cured with medicines prepared by aged women from simple and cheap as well as easily accessible materials with negligible after-effects. Once a girl becomes pregnant in villages she is in total care of elders in the family. Her treatment starts roughly from third month with very rigorous and strict food habits and physical movements. Healthy babies are delivered day in and day out at homes under the watchful eyes of elders.

Such mothers prefer natural medicines regularly and this work shows them the way.

We have to remember that in this kind of treatment no medicine is actually consumed by the child. Medicinal vapours and resultant effects produce relief to the child. Shock and body-shivering are relieved by the Talisman.

Scientific and academic corroborations for such a line of treatment are not wanting. We may quote in this context the opinion of the rural worker who was awarded the prestigious Magaysouyay award for 1979. He has emphatically observed the role of magic doctors for treatment of child diseases.

This work appears to be a new discovery. However, this writer learnt after the discovery of the work that a book on child diseases prescribing magical methods of curing them was published in Madras in 1976. Even if it is true, the present work is older because even a true copy was prepared as early as 1888 A.D.

CHRISTIAN MISSIONS AND THEIR ATTITUDES TOWARDS CASTE OBSERVANCE IN THE CHURCHES OF TAMILNAD 1606 - 1850

BY

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I

Much has been spoken and written against the evils of Caste by all advanced thinkers and social reformers. All great teachers from Gautama Buddha who lived and worked five centuries before Christ, to the present day, denounce it as an evil and a misfortune. Even a staunch Hindu and a great Philosopher-statesman like the late Dr. S. Radhakrishnan has said that caste is 'the source of division and misfortune'.[1] The Christian Church also actively opposes it, for in the first place it cannot exist in caste with her Sacraments and secondly, the idea of equality implicit in Christianity is of such revolutionary character that it sharply contradicts the Hindu idea of spiritual hierarchy implicit in caste. In other words caste is incompatible with Christianity.[2] If any Christian Church or institution bearing the name of Christ gives evidence to the presence of caste in it, it is to be regarded, as the Christian Institute for the Study of Religion and Society, Bangalore, puts it as "God's judgement on the unredeemed nature of man and also of a failure in total commitment to the Lordship of Christ".[3] In spite of such popular denunciation on the evils of caste, it cannot be said that caste has ceased to

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1. Quoted after E. Arno Lehmann, *It Began At Tranquebar*, (Madras: CLS, 1956), p. 52.

2. G. A. Oddie, "Protestant Missions, Caste and Social Change in India, 1850-1914", *Indian Economic and Social History Review*, Vol. VI, No. 3 (September, 1969), pp. 224-65.

3. *Religion and Society*, Vol. No. 3, p. 77; *Cf.* E. Estborn, *Oar Village Christians*, (Madras, 1959), p. 7.

exist nor it could be argued that years of Christian teaching and spiritual nourishment have made the caste-conscious Christians banish from their minds all thoughts about caste. One cannot escape from pointing it out that the spirit of caste is still being nurtured and that as a result the relationship among members of even the same church and same institution has become much strained. For this unpleasant state of affairs one definite cause that is greatly accountable is the observance of caste or the persistence of the spirit of caste in the Christian Church.

One of the things which Hinduism has bequeathed to Christianity in India is the institution of Caste. When converts first came from Paganism and Hindu background into the pale of Christian Church, some of the early missionaries admitted them without asking them to renounce Caste, 'the badge of idolatry'.[4] Most of the missionaries of earlier times, not being able to know the true nature of the institution of caste, held divergent views about it and allowed the little leaven to enter, which however soon leavened the whole lump. While some of them regarded caste only as a Civil Right and it had nothing to do with the fundamentals of Hinduism and thought it might therefore be tolerated,[5] others considered it "one of the evils of heathenism which has unwarily and most unfortunately been allowed to accompany the native convert in his passage to Christianity."[6] In this way for the existence of Caste in the Christian Church today in India, foreign missionaries who were instrumental for the conversion of the Natives are also to be held responsible, for the duty of leading their young and inexperienced converts in the true spirit of the Gospel greatly devolved upon them.

The purpose of this article is just to trace the persistence of caste-observance in the various Churches, both Roman Catholic and Protestant, on the Coast of Coramandel, and to show how the various missionary bodies reacted to it. As pointed out

4. Rev. William Campbell, *British India*, (London, 1839), p. 162.

5. *Ibid.* pp. 162-63.

6. G. A. Oddie, *op. cit.*, p. 264.

already Caste is but a legacy of Hinduism, preserved and bequeathed to the posterity by its forefathers and therefore the need to study in the historical perspective the relation of the Christian Churches to caste arises. For want of time and space this study has been limited to the Jesuit Madura Mission, the Lutheran Tranquebar Mission, the Anglican S.P.G. (Society for the Propagation of the Gospel) and the Wesleyan Methodists and in this respect, it may well be regarded as one of the limitations of this paper. The second limitation placed upon this article is the fact that it centers on the work done by the above mentioned Societies only in the three Governmental districts of Madurai, Tanjore, Trichinopoly and part of the Coimbatore District. though the title of the paper gives the impression that it deals with the whole of Tamilnad. Nevertheless it is hoped that it might serve some useful purpose of any general reader who is interested in the missionary enterprise in Tamilnad.

It is generally believed that India was one of the few countries where Christianity was preached as early as the beginning of the Christian era. It is also said that Christian faith was first proclaimed in the south-western corner of India by St. Thomas, one of the twelve disciples of Jesus Christ, the founder—leader of Christianity, and that Apostle Thomas founded a Church in A.D. 52 in Kerala which has endured to this day under different names and himself to have suffered martyrdom near Madras. Whatever might be the validity of such beliefs and claims, it is certain that the Syrian Orthodox Church in Kerala has had a continuous life of at least fourteen centuries and that Christianity to this part of the country came not from the West but from the East, having in all probability been originally introduced by the Nestorian missionaries. However, Western form of Christianity was introduced by the Portuguese Catholic missionaries who were soon followed by other European Missionary bodies, both Catholic and Protestant.[7]

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7. P. Thomas, *Churches in India*, reprint, (New Delhi: Publication-Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Govt. of India, 1969), p. 9.

Between A. D. 1500 and A. D. 1800 Christianity was propagated in India by more than one group and by both Roman Catholics and Protestants. Of them the Portuguese were the first. Then came the French, the Dutch, and the English. The most widely spread and numerically successful missions were those of the Roman Catholics. Protestants were late in beginning and were more restricted geographically.

A new epoch in the history of India may be said to have begun, when Vasco da Gama's three little weather-beaten ships anchored off Calicut in A. D. 1498. With his arrival at Calicut India was brought into contact with modern European civilization, first by the Portuguese and then by other Europeans who followed suit. At the time of the Portuguese arrival in the south-western part of India, the Coramandel Coast, particularly the area covering the Madurai-Trichinopoly region, was under the rule of the Madurai Nayaks, a vassal of the Vijayanagar Empire. In course of time this region soon became the scene of European enterprise. The first European power that presented itself actively in this region of India was the Portuguese who came to India with the twin purpose of seeking Christians and securing spices. The two clear objects in their view were thus of missionary and commercial character. They were at once crusaders aiming at the propagation of the Christian faith, and merchant adventurers whose goal was the control of the sea-borne trade of India. In their endeavours the Portuguese regime extended its support and thus behind the efforts of missionaries was there an organized political power, which of course both aided and embarrased the missionaries from Portugal.[8] The Portuguese regime helped them in gaining footholds which served as their operational base and also by giving active support to the work of coversion. Within the territories of the Portuguese people were forced to accept Christianity and to be instructed in Christianity. In some cases the hope of Portuguese protection from the local polygars encouraged the request for

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8. R. Sathyanatha Aiyar, *History of the Nayaks of Madura*, (Madras: 1924), pp. 3-4; Cf. Kenneth Scott Latourette, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity*, Vol. III (New York and London, 1939), p. 249

baptism.[9] In the spread of Christianity material interests also had their role to play. Converts were provided with posts in the customs, exempted from impressment in the navy, and support by the distribution of rice.[10] However, progress was very slow and much disappointing. For this unimpressive state of things, the Portuguese Catholic Christians themselves were responsible to a large extent. The lives of many of the Portuguese brought only disgrace upon the Christian name. They were guilty of unspeakable acts of cruelty and barbarism. Large number of them were rapacious. Therefore, until the coming of the great Francis Xavier in 1542 no real progress was made. The advent of the saintly and devoted Xavier in the southern region created a 'new and powerful influence'. His ascetic habits greatly appealed to the Indian sentiments and there appears to have been a mass movement to Christianity among the Paravas (fishermen) of the pearl fishery coast near Tuticorin.[11] The coming of Francis Xavier to Parava coast combined with his proselytizing activities bore the character of a peaceful penetration of the Portuguese missionaries actively supported by the Portuguese civil government. The adoption of Christianity by thousands of Paravas, a class of industrious inhabitants of the coast had greater political implications, though they have not yet received sufficient attention from the historians of this period. The conversion of the Paravas was interpreted as involving a change of allegiance from their Indian rulers namely the Nayak ruler of Madurai and the Emperor of Vijayanagar to the King of Portugal. This change of fealty from the Indian government to the Portuguese king naturally provoked drastic measures for the assertion of Vijayanagar authority. However, after the battle of Talikota in 1565, the peaceful efforts of the Jesuits combined with the more elightened policy of toleration pursued by the Vijayanagar rulers, gradually enabled them to gain lost ground and even renew their aggressive activity

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9. *Ibid*

10. L. S. S. O'Malley, ed., *Modern India and the West: Study of the Interaction of their Civilizations*, reprint, (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), p. 45

11. *Ibid*, p. 50; Cf. K. S. Latourette, *op. cit.*, pp. 253–54

which involved the change of political allegiance. It is this undercurrent of political activitiy of the Portuguese mission that occasionally brought the native powers down upon them in India.[12] Though the labours of Xavier were crowned with some success, the religious experience of the illiterate and superstitious Paravas was only skin-deep. They were taught only the catechism, the Apostle's creed, the Ten Commandments and some prayers including the Lord's Prayer and nothing more than that. After some time Xavier himself appears to have despaired of any success commensurate with his hopes and left for Japan.[13]

Jesuit missionaries followed Francis Xavier in growing numbers, and their propaganda became active and effectual, partly because they were backed by secular authority and partly because of their policy of adaptation by becoming 'Indians in all secular matters, dress, food, &c.'[14] Churches and congregations of Indian Christians sprang up in the Portuguese territories, and between 1557 and 1610 dioceses were established at Cochin, Mylapore and Cranganore.[15] During this period at about 1592, towards the close of Virappa Nayaka's reign, the Jesuit missionaries working among the Paravas, established their mission station in Madurai under Father G. Fernandez. They obtained permission from the Nayaka ruler to build a Church. For fifteen years systematic work went on but the result of the labours of Fr. Fernandez was quite disheartening. "The whole-hearted and unostentatious work of Fernandez bore no fruit; he worked in vain for about fourteen years, without being able to convert any body," records the historian Prof. Sathianatha Aiyar.[16] The principal cause of his failure was the great contempt which the people had for the Portuguese.[17] The Portuguese came to be regarded as *Parangis* or Feringhees, a contemptuous term used by the native Hindus

12. Sathianatha Aiyar, *op. cit.*, pp. 13–14 and 91
13. O'Malley, *op. cit.*, p. 50; Cf. Latourette, *op. cit.*, p. 254
14. O'Malley, *op. cit.*, pp. 50–51
15. *Ibid*
16. Sathianatha Aiyar, *op. cit.*, p. 82
17. *Ibid*

to refer to the Europeans in general and the Portuguese in particular, mainly because of their habit of eating beef and drinking intoxicating liquors and associating themselves with low and out-caste people. It was very hard for the missionaries to erase this impression from the native mind.[18] In his letter of November 20, 1609 Albert Laerzio says: "Nothing can remove this disagreeable impression, neither the noble courage of the Portuguese, the magnitude of their power, the glitter of their wealth, nor the glory of their victories and conquests."[19] Moreover, Fernandez had no proper appreciation of the difficulties encountered nor had any well-chalked-out programme. Further, as already pointed out, to become a Christian in those days meant, in the popular estimation, to become a *Parangi*, a man without caste. This was further aggravated by the early Portuguese Jesuits, who without making any attempt to disengage the social or civil observances, insisted on their converts giving up every mark of their caste-ways of dressing and eating, marriage and festival customs.[20] This hostile and uncompromising attitude of the Portuguese missionaries shattered all their hopes of converting the caste Hindus to Christianity. "Thus the first attempt to convert the high-class Hindus of Madura to Christianity was a complete failure".[21]

II

Between the death of Francis Xavier in 1552 and the arrival of the first Protestant missionaries in 1706, the Roman Catholics carried on a very extensive work among the Tamils through the famous *Madura Mission* founded in 16.6 by Robert de Nobili. This extended its labours over Tamilnadu from Madurai to Vellore and from Tanjore to Satyamangalam. At the time of Nobili's arrival in India, Christianity was not a favoured religion. It was looked upon with contempt and disfavour, mainly because

18. *Ibid*, pp. 82-83
19. Quoted after Sathianatha Aiyar, *op. cit.*, p. 83
20. Jerome D'Souza, S. J., "Giants of Asia", in ed. Thomas J. M. Burke, S. J., *Beyond All Horizons: Jesuits and the Missions*, (New York, 1957), pp.108-109
21. Sathianatha Aiyar, *op. cit.*, p. 83

of the unwise and impolitic behaviour of the Portuguese Catholic missionaries. Robert de Nobili, an Italian by birth, endowed with a towering personality and penetrating intellect, therefore initiated a new line of missionary action and made a departure from the policy hitherto followed by the Portuguese in India. He analysed the causes of his predecessor's failure, and he scrupulously avoided the impression of a *Parangi* by a careful regulation of his diet and dress. Nobili and his colleagues adapted themselves to Indian customs and habits of life in order to attract converts. Nobili gave out that he was a 'Roman Brahman' and he started living like an Indian holy man, or *Sanyasi* (religious mendicant) and later, more like an Indian guru, or teacher. He wore saffron cloth, sandalwood paste, and for a time wore a cord, somewhat in the fashion of the upper castes, but with a cross appended. He adopted the vegetarian diet as the Brahmins and he admitted only Brahmins to his meals, although he would eat with other missionaries.[22] He allowed his converts to retain caste divisions and caste practices. He also allowed them to retain *kuḍumi* (the tuft or lock of hair) which was one of their caste privileges. For his Brahmin converts, Nobili substituted a cord and he himself blessed it. Fearing that the higher castes would not come, Nobili excluded the Parava Christians from the church he built. In defence of his action, he persuaded the St.Thomas Christians of Malabar not to admit low caste people into their churches.[23] Nobili endeavoured thus to organize an Indian Church on the basis of caste.[24] He believed that Caste was only a social institution and had nothing to do with the fundamentals of Hindu religion and "by becoming Christians one does not renounce his caste, nobility or usage..."[25]

Corresponding distinctions were also maintained among the priests of the Madura Mission also. They divided themselves

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22. Kenneth Scott Latourette, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 260; Cf. Sathianatha Aiyar, *op. cit.*, pp. 94–95
23. *Ibid*
24. O'Malley, *op. cit.*, pp. 51–52
25. P. Thomas, *Christians and Christianity in India and Pakistan*, (London, 1954), p. 69

into two branches. One confined its ministrations to the low castes and the untouchables; the priests of the other group posed themselves as Brahmins, worked among the high caste Hindus, kept aloof from the lower castes, whether Hindu or Christian, and also from their priests, who were treated as an inferior order.

> "One missioner would be seen moving about on horseback or in a palanquin, eating rice, dressed by Brahmans, and saluting no one as he went along; another, covered with rags, walked on foot, surrounded by beggars, and prostrated himself as his brother missioner passed, covering his mouth lest his breath should infect the teacher of the great."[26]

This new method initiated by Nobili was called 'accommodation' (i.e. accommodating caste within the church) and had brought down on him a storm of criticism, partly from non-Christians, but chiefly from his fellow missionaries. Nobili has been accused severely by some of the early Protestant writers. J. Hough and J. W. Kaye, the authors of *History of Christianity in India* and *Christianity in India* respectively, had been highly critical about Robert de Nobili in charging him with much passion and vehemence and thus exhibiting an 'utter want of sympathy', while writers like Latourette, Thomas and Prof.Sathianatha Aiyar say that Nobili's device was "an ingenious attempt to acclimatize Christianity in India, and to win the upper classes and through them the entire country".[27] A recent writer, P. Thomas, in his *Christians and Christianity in India and Pakistan*, regards Nobili's method as "a bold and original method in his missionary work".[28] Prof. Sathianatha Aiyar is of the opinion that Nobili's plan was a "daring and original plan", consisted of three features viz. adaptation to the Indian way of life, appropriation of Hindu customs and the study of languages like Sanskrit.[29] In fact

26. Quoted after O'Malley, *op. cit.*, p. 52
27. Latourette, *op. cit.*, p. 262
28. P. Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 64
29. Sathianatha Aiyar, *op. cit.*, pp. 94-95

Mr. Thomas has nothing but praise for Nobili. He sums up his views on Nobili's career in India as follows:

> "It should not be imagined that Father Robert adopted this way of life out of sheer hypocrisy. He loved it...In his own words, he became an Indian to save Indians even as God became man to save mankind, and there was nothing demeaning or irreligious about that. De Nobili loved India and Indians and their way of life. In his deep insight into human nature, in sympathy with Indian culture and traditions, in his recognition of the prophetic presage of Indian sages of the coming of the Saviour, he stands alone among the Europeans of his time who were inclined to treat the Hindus as a God-forsaken set of idolaters."[80]

With due respect to Mr. Thomas for his elevated opinion about De Nobili, one cannot but be critical about Mr. Thomas in as much as he tried to draw a parallel between Nobili and Jesus Christ who became man to save sinners. When one looks at Christ, he is simply overwhelmed by the sense of humility that Jesus had; he moved most of the time with sinners and Publicans-the 'cast away' in society. The Gospel was preached chiefly to the 'poor in spirit'. Whereas Nobili deliberately identified himself with the Brahmins, the Pharisees of the Indian Society, the enemy of the Cross: He seems to have bothered much about those who needed no body's help to protect themselves against the tyranny of Caste. In trying to raise up a Native Church on the basis of caste, Nobili deliberately sowed the seeds of dissension in the Church and erected a wall of separation and did a lot of damage to the unity of the Indian Church.

The methods initiated by Nobili had their initial success. By the death of Nobili the annual number of baptisms among adults was said to have been more than a thousand. By the end of the 17th century, the Madura Mission was said to have made 150,000 converts.[81] This was done no doubt by the recognition of Caste

30. P. Thomas, *op. cit.*, pp. 66 and 72
31. Latourette, *op. cit.* p. 261

and by the asceticism of the Jesuits, which was consonant with their ideas of holy living, but definitely at the cost of the teachings of Christ. This Mission, therefore, failed to endure. Many of those who laboured among the untouchables fell victims to their privations.[32] Commenting on the permanent results of Nobili's work in Madurai, Prof. Sathianatha Aiyar has this to say: "Nobili's *via media* in religion could only end in displeasing both sides. There was artificiality in his whole scheme, which could not escape careful observers. His experiment in Madura was a failure, and he turned his eyes thenceforward to the north".[33] Another non-Christian scholar by name V. A. Narain says: "The Jesuit Fathers who were the first to arrive, carried on their work of proselytizing 'clandestinely'. They were no better than the Portuguese pirates in disguise. They pretended to be Brahmins and dressed like *Sanyasis* (hermits) and forged the Vedas to suit their purpose".[33a] While evaluating the work of De Nobili and the fruits of his labours, Dr. Julius Richter, the author of *A History of Missions in India,* makes the following remarks:

> "And the results Nobili aimed at with his system were never obtained either by himself or by his successors. Within the first decades many Brahmans are said to have embraced Christianity, especially at Madura. But it was a just judgement of heaven that this, Nobili's principal station, was and continued to be as a matter of fact, the most unfruitful of all. At Nobili's death, it numbered only 200 Christians-and his admirers claim that he converted 100,000 Hindus !... In the Jesuit Mission at Madura itself by far the larger number of the Christians belonged to the Sudra and Pariah castes; but the assumption by many of these of the Christian name was

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32. O'Malley, *op. cit.,* p. 52

33. Sathianatha Aiyar, *op. cit.,* p. 108

33a. V. A. Narain, *Social History of Modern Iddia—19th Century,* (Meerut, 1972), p: 18

purchased at a heavy expense of maintaining the caste system of India in all its rigour."[34]

It is needless to say that the most of the converts belonging to the Madura Mission did not show any remarkable change in them after their change-over to Christianity. They were as what they were before conversion. One Mr. S. Thomas, while recounting the missionary work in South India, has said that the Christians of the Madura Mission wore marks of their caste on their foreheads as their non-Christian neighbours did, took part in the Hindu festivals and bowed down before the images of Hindu gods. A part of their marriage ceremony was performed in the Christian Chapel, and the couple was blessed by the *Catholic priest.* At home, they kindled fire and walked around it, tied the wedding-knot (*Tāli*) in the presence of *Agni*, and called upon that fire God to witness the solemn contract. Christians of this kind could be seen in certain districts of South India in Madurai, Trichinopoly, Tanjore and in some other places.[35] Even Fr. Jerome D'Souza, a well-known Jesuit Scholar, says that Catholics on the western shores of India are surprised to hear about Christians whose names are very similar to Hindu names and who dress like Hindus, and observe many social customs peculiar to the Hindus and such are found in large numbers mainly in Tamilnad or in the Tamil-speaking parts of the Madras State.[36]

III

The first Protestant missionary enterprise in India began with the arrival of Bartholomew Ziegenbalg and Henry Plütschau on 9 July, 1706, at the Danish Settlemant of Tranquebar. Having no missionary tradition to fall back upon, and having no pattern of work among the natives to follow, the missionaries of the Evangelical faith adopted the Jesuit method of 'accommodation.'

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34. Julius Richter, *A History of Missions in India*, translated by Sydney H. Moore, (Edinburgh), 1908), p. 67
35. S. Thomas, "Missionary Work in South India", *The Harvest Field*, (a Monthly of the Protestant Missions in India), 1890, Vol. X, p. 332
36. Jerome D'Souza, S. J., *op. cit.*, p. 105

They permitted their converts to retain caste, and endeavoured to establish an indigenous ministry.[37] All the earlier missionaries, with the solitary exception of Schultze, did not like to take any unfriendly attitude towards caste. They like the Roman Catholics before them, had recognized among the converts a distinction between those who are now known as 'Scheduled' and the various Sudra Castes. Schultze, who assumed leadership among the new comers after the death of Ziegenbalg in 1719, did not like this kind of distinction and made a 'well-meaning but rash attack' on caste, even though it caused disturbance among the Tamil congregation.[37a] With the strength of youth and the experience of a beginner, he 'with much trouble did away with this separation in the church' but the missionaries who came later, Walther, Pressier, Dal and Bosse decided to allow the distinction of caste in their church.[38] It is sad to read that in the New Jerusalem Church, Tranquebar, the four wings of the Church were permanently assigned to the men and women of the different communities. It is said that in the south wing behind the altar sat the Sudra women, opposite to them in the north wing the Sudra men, in the east wing sat the Pariah women, in the west wing their men. In volume six of the Halle Reports on page 920, a plan of the Church is to be found.[39]

A similar distinction was observed in their schools also, though the missionaries had tried to mitigate it by teaching the more intelligent of the Adi-dravida children Portuguese and dressing them in Western clothes, so that in time they came to rank as 'Portuguese'. While writing on the development of a Protestant Consensus on caste, the Rev. Dr. Duncan B. Forrester says that "the Tranquebar missionaries had all along been somewhat ambivalent on the caste question and as far as their schools were

37. E. Arno Lehmann, *op. cit.*, p. 64; Sigfrid Estborn, "The Tranquebar Mission", in ed. C. H. Swavely, *The Lutheran Enterprise in India*, (Madras, 1952), p. 3

37a. C. B. Firth, *An Introduction to Indian Church History*, (Madras: 1961), p. 134

38. E. Arno Lehmann, *op. cit.*, p. 64

39. *Ibid.*, p. 129

concerned they could see objection to recognition of certain caste rules."[40]

The Tranquebar missionaries' attitude towards caste could further be studied in their behaviour towards Rajanaikan, an efficient and successful worker of the Mission. In 1741, when the health of Pastor Aaron, their first native minister, was failing owing to age and over work, the need to appoint someone instead arose. Friends in Europe who heard much of the character and abilities of Rajanaikan considered him the most suitable person for ordination. But instead of Rajanaikan, Diogo, who had been baptized in the Roman Church, but from the age of four brought up at Ziegenbalg's boarding school at Tranquebar and made a catechist in 1729, was ordained as the second native pastor of the Tranquebar Mission and placed at Tanjore. He is said to have proved more acceptable than Rajanaikan, not only to Hindus and Moslems, but also to the Roman Christians, mainly on account of his caste.[41] In fact Rajanaikan was a better and abler evangelist than Diogo and he was one of the chief forces for the spread of the Gospel and the influence of the Tranquebar Mission into the adjacent kingdom of Tanjore. But the Missionaries, in a letter to the Principal at Halle said that "Not you only, but several of us, desired to ordain Rajanaiken to the office of priest...But we should greatly hesitate to have the Lord's supper administered by him, lest it should diminish the regard of Christians of higher caste for that sacrament itself."[42] They thought that his having been born as an untouchable was an insuperable barrier to his becoming a priest. Instead of facing the problem boldly and obeying the dictates of their conscience, they yielded themselves to the power

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40. Duncan B. Forrester, '"The very nucleus of the whole Hindoo abomination": The Development of a Protestant Consensus on Caste, 1793–1850', (an unpublished typescript), p. 10.

41. H. Grafe, "The Relation between the Tranquebar Lutherans and the Tanjore Catholics in the First Half of the 18th Century", *Indian Church History Review*, Vol. I, No. 1, (1967), p. 57

42. R. D. Paul, *Some Heroes of the Indian Church*, (London, 1952), p. 67

of caste prejudices and preferred to ordain the Tranquebar catechist Diogo.[43]

Of the later missionaries of the Tranquebar Mission, Christian Frederick Schwartz was undoubtedly the most distinguished. He was affectionately called 'Father Schwartz' and he was the 'Priest King' (Rājaguru) of Tanjore. He was an earnest and zealous worker and because of his association with the Rāja of Tanjore and the influence he wielded at the governmental level, many became Christians. But Schwartz also took a more lenient view of caste, which he regarded as in essence only a distinction of rank. Many of his converts seem to have thought with their Roman Catholic neighbours that the high caste converts ought to have nothing in common with the low caste Christians. Notably among them were the Christians of Tanjore who have become proverbial in their caste consciousness. The refusal of his successors in 1834 to recognize caste distinctions caused a schism which called forth the bitter sarcasm of Lord Macaulay: "As to Swartz's people in Tanjore, they are a perfect scandal to the religion they profess".[44]

The followers of Schwartz also continued the same policy of caste tolerance in the Christian church. The Rev. S. Paul, in his paper on "*Caste in the Tinnevelly Church*" says that the missionaries of that period copied to some extent the methods of the Romish priests who preceded them. After the death of Jenicke, the famous Tinnevelly Mission, founded by Schwartz, was left to the charge and guidance of Mr. Sathianathan, a native minister posted there by Schwartz. He and his native catechists were all caste men and they infused the caste spirit into the infant church.[45]

He goes on to say that caste was permitted among the Christians at this period, and indeed for long afterwards and it

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43. *Ibid.*

44. F. R. Hemingway, *Madras District Gazetteers*: *Tanjore*, 1906, p. 60

45. Rev. S. Paul, "Caste in the Tinnevelly Church", *The Harvest Field*, (September, 1893), p. 82

was the C.M.S. (Church Missionary Society) missionaries who first lifted up the battle axe against caste in the Tinnevelly Church. He says: "The missionaries of Tranquebar and Tanjore who went to Tinnevelly very early to preach and to whose hands the superintendence of the church was entrusted for a long time, were the cause of it".[46] Thus we find that the Tranquebar Mission also allowed caste distinctions and because of the caste pride of its members and mission workers the famous Mission went down. This is sufficiently vouched for by the statement of the same writer:

> "They chose to make caste friend rather than enemy. In doing this, however, while they made their path easier, they sacrificed their principles, and admitted an element into their midst which acted in their Christian community like poison. They embraced an adversary which could never become their friend. They sowed the seeds of pride, distrust and alienation in their native congregations which brought forth abundant crops of rank and vexatious weeds... Have they stood the test of time? It might be fairly supposed that missions established from 100 to 170 years ago, if originally sound and true, would in the present day be the largest and most flourishing of all the missions in India. But what do we actually find? Instead of thousands of converts, which the Tranquebar Mission possessed in the last century there were in 1850, 717 Christians; and twenty years later only 771."[47]

It was about the turn of the century that the modern missionary movement began in England, USA and other countries in the West. The growth of the Anglican organizations like the S.P.C.K. (Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge), S.P.G. (Society for the Propagation of the Gospel) and the C.M.S. and their influence affected the work of the Tranquebar Mission and finally the Mission Stations of the latter passed together

46. Rev. S. Paul, "Caste in the Tinnevelly Church", *op. cit.*, p. 83
47. Quoted after Rev. S. Paul, *op. cit.*, p. 87

with the congregation into the hands of the Anglican S.P.G. in 1825. When the Tranquebar Christians came into the Anglican fold, they brought with them a measure of caste observance also which continued to afflict the church. However, the English Societies were slow to involve themselves with the regulation of the local working of the missions and were apparently perfectly content with the existing order of things. It is hardly surprising that the Societies had no policy on caste. But soon the question of caste caused disturbances in many places and the missionaries had to take a definite stand on this matter. The storm centre of the caste question from about 1814 was Vepery, where the Revs. C. T. Rhenius and L. P. Hawbroe had antogonized a large proportion of the native Christians by their energetic measures against caste. The missionaries at Madras followed the good example set by Rev. Rhenius and Dr. Schmid and made efforts to remove caste from the church.[48] But their attempts were often defeated by the Sudra sect, generally styled *Tamil Christians*, who were brought from Tranquebar to be employed in the Mission printing office at Madras. One Kanagaroyan, a catechist, was the ring leader of the mischief makers. During the days of Rev. Rotler and Hawbroe, there was an intelligent and studious Pariah boy, who was seated along with the other Tamil boys to hear and take notes of sermons on Sundays. The catechist together with his congregation objected to this and made a covenant that they should neither with their families go to the church anymore nor allow such a thing to happen in future. Those who violated this covenant was bound to pay 12 pagodas to the police officer. But the missionaries took no notice of the covenant and superintended the Church according to the rules framed by them and confirmed by the parent Committee.[49]

Missionaries and native ministers in general held divergent views on the question of caste and they were sharply divided on account of it. When persons like the Rev. Christian David, a South Indian Clergyman, said that caste was a civil rather than

48. Rev. S. Paul, *op. cit.*, pp. 83–84

49. *Ibid.*

religious institution, a number of younger missionaries like Schreyvogel insisted that caste was an idolatrous abomination which must be rooted out of the Church.[50] When an Indian episcopate was established in Calcutta successive bishops found themselves both expected to enforce some kind of uniformity of discipline among all the churches under their jurisdiction, but they also had radically differed on the question of caste. Bishop Reginald Heber, the second Bishop of Calcutta, conducted a visitation of the southern churches in 1826. At the start of his visitation, Heber set up in Madras a committee of enquiry into the question and was himself tireless in canvassing opinions and collecting relevent material on this burning issue. He, however, regarded those missionaries who were demanding an immediate onslaught on caste as 'over-punctilious and he himself desired a policy of tolerance of any practice which would be regarded as civil or cultural rather than idolatrous'.[51] He did not approve of the interference of certain missionaries with the 'Private meals and social intercourse' of the native Christians.[52] Heber joined issue directly with the missionaries on the question of caste but his untimely death in Trichinopoly before his commission had made any authoritative pronouncement on his part impossible. He had said enough, however, to strengthen the hands of the dissidents in places like Vepery, which was a storm centre of the caste controversy, but not enough to dissuade those who were making a vigorous attack on caste. So, the campaign against caste soon spread to other Anglican missions in the south. However, as Julius Richter says, most missionaries "were still guided by the traditions of the Danish Mission, the result was a large majority in favour of non-interference".[53] Interestingly the missionaries at Tanjore were following still the tolerant line laid down by Schwartz, and endeavoured to act with caution and forbearance. They also argued that caste had existed as a purely civil institution even before the Brahmins came to India and

50. Duncan B. Forrester, *op. cit.*, pp. 20–23
51. *Ibid.*, p. 21
52. *Ibid.*
53. Julius Richter, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

caste among Christians "is of a totally different order and must be dealt with gently and by degrees",[54]

But the controversy simmered on. The churches, particularly those of Vepery, Trichinopoly and Tanjore, were full of dissensions and bitterness, with scandalous schism and large numbers relapsing to Hinduism or joining the Lutherans or the Roman Catholics. Missionary opinion began to harden against Bishop Heber's attitude. When Daniel Wilson was appointed as the Fifth Bishop at Calcutta the issue was reopened. The problem as initially presented to him was that the retention of caste customs among Christians provided a convenient bridge which increasing numbers were now using to return to their former faith. The bridge must be broken down and the church purified if it was to survive. Wilson wrote a series of pastoral letters to the Churches under his jurisdiction and tried sincerely to remove the scandal of caste. Influenced by the conviction that the retention of caste encouraged apostasy, he issued his famous circular letter of July 5, 1833 to all the Anglican missionaries throughout his diocese (which included the whole of India) in which he declared: "The distinction of castes, then, must be abandoned, decidedly, immediately, finally; and those who profess to belong to Christ must give this proof of their having really 'put off', concerning the former conversation, 'the old, and having put on the new man', in Christ Jesus. The Gospel recognizes no distinctions such as those of castes, imposed by a heathen usage..."[55] Wilson's letter aroused a veritable hurricane of unrest in the southern churches. In 1835 he visited the disturbed churches and faced the storm without budging an inch from his "resolution of abolition, wisely and kindly, but unalterably, the heathen usages of Caste from the Christian Churches."[56] In spite of such earnest and energetic measures taken against Caste, Wilson

54. Duncan B. Forrester, *ap. cit.*, p. 24

55. Wilson's letter is reprinted in full in Wesleyan Methodist *Missionary Notices*, Vol. VII, No. 223 (July, 1834), pp. 493–96

56. Duncan B. Forrester, *op. cit.*, p. 26

by no means solved the question, nor did his position command universal support among the Anglican missionaries. A number of them refused to implement his edict.[56a] Congregations throughout the south continued to be deeply divided on the issue and there was continual migration from the Anglican congregations into the Lutheran Missions which were considerably more permissive and had adopted a conciliatory attitude on the issue of caste.[57] Within a short time, the Vepery Christians of the S.P.G. in particular became more adamant and among them caste feeling was apparently as strong as ever.[58] And yet among all this confusion there was a gradual consolidation of feeling and practice in the Anglican missions in favour of the 'Wilsonline'.[59]

IV

The English Wesleyan Methodist missionaries who commenced their activities on the Coramandel coast largely followed the lead given by the Anglican Missions in as far as opposing the practices of Caste within their churches. They were definitely and decidedly against it. In 1830-31 work was started in Melnattam, a village forty miles south of Negapatam. Members who had originally been received by the Church of Rome soon became dissatisfied with their newly embraced faith, and now wished to become Protestants. They, therefore, asked the missionary at Negapatam to place them under Methodist instruction. The missionaries, in all eagerness to obtain a foot-hold among the Tamil people, especially among the several non-Romanists, who were under instruction for baptism, conceded to their request and began their Mission in Melnattam. Encouraging reports were sent Home about the progress of work at Melnattam.[60] But the good hopes inspired by the accession at Melnattam, were, however, soon

56a. *Ibid.*

57. G. A. Oddie, *op. cit.* p, 262

58. *Ibid.*

59. Duncan B. Forrester, *op, cit.*, p. 26

60. "Continental India and Ceylon", *Annual Report of the W.M.M.S. for 1832-33*, p. 10

dashed to the ground and that which brought them to nothing was caste. The Romanists of Melnattam who had joined the Methodist church brought with them a measure of caste-observance which was not prevented when they originally entered the Church of Rome. Their former teachers had shown something more than toleration, and they expected that the same attitude would be observed in the church which they now entered. The trouble started when the Pariah members of the church were expected to accept a position of inferiority in public worship. The Rev. Thomas Cryer, the resident missionary at Melnattam, set his face like a flint against all such attempts to recognize caste in the Christian Church. He was obliged to turn out of Society some of the troublesome elements including one Pakkiam, a school master at Melnattam, for disturbing the society on caste question. As a result of the stringent measures taken by Thomas Cryer, a false report was at once set abroad that all the Melnattam Christians had become Pariahs. This report had powerful influence on many and some had to suffer real evil. Men from other villages who had married women from Melnattam sent them away as unfit to live with them; marriages that had been contracted by the young men in the villages were broken off; and attempts to contract new ones were abortive.[61] With the straight forward conduct of the missionary many were affected, and left the Society and congregation entirely, and as they were in regular intercourse with the Christians in Tanjore, these people were greatly influenced and led by them.[62]

Notwithstanding the loss in number, the Methodist missionaries in the *Trichinopoly District* stood firm in this matter. In his letter dated 7 July, 1835, the Rev.Thomas Cryer, wrote: "We were unanimously of opinion, that Caste is directly opposed to

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61. *MSS.* "Madras Correspondence", Box IV (1834-36): Letter of Rev. Thomas Cryer to the General Secretaries, dated Melnattam, July 7, 1835

62. *MSS.* "Madras Correspondence", Box V (1837-1838): Letter of Rev. Samuel Hardey to the General Secretaries, dated Negapatam, January 12, 1837

Christianity and that it must be met with the most resolute firmness-but on the account of the force of prejudice, with meekness and love."[63] When Cryer was appointed as the Superintendent of the Negapatam Circuit in 1843, he at once took up a strongly antagonistic position in the matter of caste, for there were many Christians who observed caste, and the parents of boys in the Mission Boarding School were insistent in seeking for a recognition of its social distinctions in that institution. In 1847 we find him refusing to meet in the Methodist instruction Class those who continued to observe caste, nor would he administer to them the Sacrament. The Church members at both Melnattam and Mannargudi were practically put out of Society on this score.[64]

The test case, however, was presented by two of the Native Assistant Missionaries of the Society, A. D. Ponniah and Devasagayam, who from the beginning observed caste rules. In 1846, when Mr. Ponniah reached the stage of ordination and 'full connexion' he was challenged in the matter of caste. But Ponniah rather refused to enter the ministry than to give up his caste. The same course was followed in the case of his colleague in the following year. The Synod (the supreme decision-making body of the Church) recommended in 1847 that these two men be no longer recognized as 'Assistant Missionaries'.[65] The test case afforded by the attitude of these two men ended in their withdrawal from the Methodist Church, and the Missionaries proceeded to make an all important declaration : "We unanimously agree : 1. No person holding caste in any respect shall be employed as a paid agent in the Church. 2. No person holding

63. Letter of Thomas Cryer, July 7, 1835 *op. cit.*, Cf. Letter from John Guest, dated september 12, 1836 and from Samuel Hardey, dated October 6, 1836

64. G. G. Findlay and W. W. Holdsworth, *The History of the W.M.M.S.*, Vol. V, (London: 1924), p. 137

65. In those days it was not called Synod but only *District Meeting* and this was the practice in the Methodist Church which continued till the 1890's.

caste in any respect shall be admitted as a member of our Society. 3. No candidate for admission into the Church shall be baptized until he has given satisfactory proof of having renounced caste".[66] The emphatic declaration led to a reduction of the existing membership, and prevented any great accession to the Church, in the immediate future. It also reversed the proportion of Sudras to Panchamas in the Churches so that the latter became numerically more prominent. But the declaration saved the Church from the scandal of caste.[67]

V

By Eighteen Fifty virtually all the Protestant Missions with the solitary exception of the Leipzig Mission were in agreement that caste was a great evil that must be ruthlessly uprooted from the Christian Church in India. The Madras Missionary Conference, composed of missionaries from various denominations, published with one accord of mind and unity in purpose, a Minute in which they recorded their opposition to caste distinctions within the Church and pleaded with all Protestant societies to adopt a similar policy.[68] This Minute, signed by nearly one hundred persons, representing various Protestant Churches like Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist, Congregationalist and others, was endorsed by the Calcutta and Bombay Missionary Conferences. It was published together with the Anglican Statement of 1848 as a united testimony of "nearly all the Protestant Missionaries in Southern India".[69] This Minute is especially important because it was the first notable attempt on the part of the Protestant Churches in India to formulate an agreed interdenominational Protestant policy on caste among converts.[70] Eight years later the Madras Missionary Conference that met in Madras in 1858 endorsed the consensus arrived at in 1850. In its weighty report

66. G.G. Findlay and W.W. Holdsworth, *op. cit.*, p. 139

67. *Ibid.*

68. G.A. Oddie, *op. cit.*, pp. 262-63

69. *Ibid*, p. 263

70. *Ibid.*

the Conference declared its resolutions on caste. The Conference made it clear that caste, both in theory and practice, was not merely a civil distinction, but 'emphatically a *religious institution*; and viewed in this, its true character, it is the monster evil of India...'.[71] It made a sincere appeal to all the missionaries and Christian members of the Church to consider that it was the duty of all 'to spare no pains' to expose the 'absurdities and falsehood, as well as denounce the wickedness of caste'...The Conference said further in its emphatic report that "it is also the duty of all Missionaries and Churches to require its unreserved and unequivocal renunciation, with all its outward manifestations...No man should be regarded as worthy of the name of Christian who refuses to renounce caste and to remove all its outward marks, or who objects to any kind of intercourse, with any other Christians, simply on the ground of its distinctions... Let a holy sagacity and an unbending firmness be constantly employed in detecting and opposing all its workings...That it is the duty of all Christians to unite in protesting against all recognition of caste in all the public acts of Government...Caste should be a thing entirely unknown in this connection."[72]

Thus by 1850, excepting the Roman Catholics and the Leipzig Lutherans, almost all other Christian Missions, most of them being Protestant Churches, had arrived at a consensus on the question of caste by making a clear-cut policy on this matter. They categorically made it clear that they were definitely opposed to caste and that it was their solemn duty to wage a holy war against an institution that laid the hangman's axe at the unity of the Christian Church by its act of cutting asunder its members. With the passage of time the Protestant Missions in India in general and South India in particular were becoming increasingly aggressive in their attitude towards caste and its observance in the Christian Church. The main reason for this hostile attitude was

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71. *Report of the South India Missionary Conference 1858*, (Madras, 1858), pp.294-95

72. *Ibid.*

their deep conviction that Caste was incompatible with Christianity and that the the spirit of caste which is divisive in character cannot go hand in hand with the spirit of the Christian Gospel whose chief characteristic is to bind the broken-hearted and to gather the scattered ones. The missionary agitation for the vindication of the legal rights of the submerged communities was very great indeed. By the power of their tongue and strength of their pen, the Christian missionaries not only undermined the authority of caste councils and the effectiveness of caste regulations, but also stimulated public discussion on the wrongs done to the people like the Harijans. By sending deputations and presenting Memoranda to the authorties concerned the Missionary Societies highlighted the misery of the outcastes and moved the British Government to redress the injustice and innumerable civil disabilities to which the Depressed Classes had been subjected for ages. The missionary arguments and agitation brought about a change in the attitude of some of the Hindu religious leaders and social reformers, while in some they instilled the fear of losing a number of the so-called untouchables and thereby weakening Hinduism. These followed from the effect of conversion of the rapidly declining proportion of Hindus in the total population, a development that had great political implications, especially in view of separate electorates. By their precepts and practice, and by their services to the socially cast-away, the Christian missionaries had aroused the public conscience to the duties the Hindus owe to their own countrymen whom they have wronged for ages. That the illustrious Gandhi carried on a vigorous crusade for the removal of Untouchability and for the opening of the Hindu temples to the Harijans is a substantial evidence of the awakening of the Hindu conscience. In this wise they stimulated Hindu attempts to improve the lot of the Harijans. Thus the Christian Missionaries, particularly the Protestant Evangelicals, have played a significant role in the process of social change in India. By waging a war against the forces of status quo, they had violently ruffled the placid waters of the traditional Indian society. They questioned the accepted values, assaulted the time-honoured customs and values and attempted to undermine the power of the superstitious beliefs

which held a formidable sway over the native mind. In this way by staging a widespread protest against social evils like caste, and by fighting grimly against the dangers of ignorance and illiteracy, the Christian missionaries in Tamilnad had stimulated social reforms and religious revival.[73]

73. M. N. Srinivas: *Social Change in Modern India* (Bombay: Allied Publishers,) p. 50; Cf. G. A. Oddie, *op. cit.*, pp. 288-291

REPORT OF SEMINARS

The Institute of Traditional Cultures held a seminar at 4. P.M. on Monday the 20th September 1976 in Room No. 48 of the Madras University Departmental Buildings on "Rāmāyana through South East Asia" led by Dr. S. Shankar Raju, Professor and Head of the Department of Hindi, University of Madras. The following is a report of the proceedings of the Seminar.

Present

Dr. K. K. Pillay, M.A., D.Litt., D.Phil (Oxon.) in Chair.

Dr. S. Shankar Raju, M.A., Ph.D., F.R.A.S. (London)
An audience of about 50 persons was present.

The Chairman introduced the Leader and requested him to lead the seminar.

Dr. S. Shankar Raju Naidu: Out of the innumerable Indian epics with well-knit plot constructions, two are outstanding, viz. Rāmāyana, the Ādi Kāvya of Sanskrit by Vālmiki (originally Ratnakar, a hunter) and Śilappadikāram, the Ādi Kāvya of Tamil by Ilangō Adikal, the Royal Saint of Chera kingdom. It is certainly the Rāmāyana which is a true repository of Indian culture from the point of view of popularity and impact in India and abroad. Hence it is the Rāmāyana which is THE Indian Epic.

"Literature in respect of its demand or usefulness either" says Pratap Chandra Roy in his preface to 'The Mahābhārata', "is more than anything else in the world, a cosmopolitan ooncern. The productions of genius are the common inheritance of the world. Homer lived as much for Greeks; ancient or modern, as for Englishmen or Frenchmen, Germans or Italians. Vālmiki and Vyāsa lived as much for Hindus as for any race of men capable of understanding them".[1]

1. Preface to 'The Mahābhārata' – Pratap Chandra Roy, VOL. I. Adi and Sabha Parvas (New Edition) – p. viii.

Rāmāyana, the Indian Epic, is certainly a literary creation of excellence with a cosmopolitan concern. It may be conceded, as has been mentioned in Chamber's Encyclopaedia, that in the Rāmāyana, 'Vālmiki has combined the different legends into a single theme'. The three major legends, it appears, were separately centred round Ayōdhya, Kiskindha and Lańka. Ayōdhya seems to have offered 'a tale of court intrigue showing how Daśaratha is forced in order to keep a rash promise to Kaikēye, his second wife, to disinherit the eldest son Rāmā in favour of Bharata, her child and how Rāmā goes into exile in the forest with Sīta and Lakshmaṇa. Kishkindha, in turn, seems to have given a story of a quarrel between two brothers, Vāli and Sugrīva, and the one being the cause for the death of the other. The Lańka episode seems to have yielded a more serious plot telling the rape of Sīta by Rāvaṇa, the king of Lańka - later identified with Ceylon but originally quite distinct, and her rescue and the slaying of Rāvaṇa by Rāmā'.[2]

Prof. S. Vaiyapuri Pillai, agreeing with this view, states that the story of the Rāmāyana "must have existed as 'epic material' long long prior to Vālmiki's days, and was, perhaps, fragmentary, scattered, loosely related, sometimes contradictory, each piece of comparatively small size, with no intension beyond hearty narrative". He adds that "it was a national heritage, aud genius of Vālmiki converted it into an epic".[3]

The composition of Vālmiki Rāmāyana dates back to somewhere between the first and eighth century B. C. H. Jacobi, a renowned Occidental Scholar and C. V. Vaidya, learned oriental scholar are of the considered opinion that it should have been brought out in the present form by about the first century or at the earliest, the second century B. C. On the other hand Dr. Jacobi and A. B. Keith fix the date during the fifth century.[4] But Sen Gupta after analysing the historical, astrological, astronomical

2. Chamber's Encyclopaedia - Vol. - XI, p, 512.

3. Prof. S. Vaiyapuri Pillai, 'Kamban Kāviyam', p. 152.

4. Keith, A. B., 'The Date of the Ramayana', Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, London, 1915.

and other scientific references contained in the epic as internal evidences, writes as follows:

"It seems almost certain that the date of composition of the Rāmāyaṇa (i.e. the Rāmāyaṇa in its present form) is approximately 438 A. D".[5]

However general acceptance is accorded to the view that the final form of Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa evolved near about the third century B. C., specially because Pāṇini's 'Ashtadhyāyi', a work of about the fourth century B. C., does not refer to Rāmā, Sīta, Daśaratha etc., in any manner. Scholars are also generally of the opinion that the first and seventh i.e. Bāla and Uttara Kāṇḍas were later interpolations, added to the five middle original Kāṇḍas between the first and third century A. D.

Here it is worth reminding ourselves that this story of Rāmāyana has had very many versions in India and abroad, a like of which is not focused with any other story. For intance, 'Iliad' and 'Odyssey' by Homer, which is generally supposed to be an epic originated earlier than the 7th century B. C. has never been recreated with any remarkable difference in the major incidents of the plot. Similarly 'Heracleia' of Peisander, 'Thebais' of Antimachus or even 'Aenied' of Virgil has never had a different version after its compositions. So also the famous 'Rape of Proserpine' of Clandianus, 'Punic War' of Silius Italicus and 'Beowulf' too with its inimitable alliterative unrhymed rhythm in German language have continued to remain in the very original form, though transplanted again and again in the same or other languages, not to speak of 'The Poem of the Cid' and 'Arancana', the Spanish epics. Coming comparatively to our modern age, John Milton's 'Paradise Lost' with its sequel, 'Paradise Regained' has not yet come out with a different garb and change in plot and in spirit in any language.

Therefore it can well be established that Rāmāyaṇa, the Indian Epic, is the only mighty creation in the world Literature

5. 'Date of Composition of Rāmāyaṇa', Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University, Vol. - XIX No. 3.

which has had a fascinating evolution, changing from time to time and people to people. The Rāmāyaṇa has been changing in form, content and spirit from language to language and country to country, nay at times in the same language reflecting the differences in cultural approaches and fertile imaginations. This is, without any shadow of doubt, true with regard to the innumerable versions of the Rāmāyana in Sanskrit. Consequently Monier Williams concludes rightly, "Notwithstanding the wilderness of exaggeration and hyperbole through which the reader of Indian Epics has occasionally to wander there are in the whole range of the world's literature *few* more charming Poems than the Rāmāyaṇa. It is like a specious delightful garden, here and there allowed to run wild, but teeming with fruits and flowers watered by perennial streams, and even its most toughed thickets intersected with delightful pathways".[6]

It is interesting to note that though Rāmāyaṇa is basically a Hindu (This is certainly a wrong name, for it is a Persian term with several connotations other than religious!) epic, it has its counter expositions in Buddha and Jaina religions as well.

Dr. Weber, Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen and several other scholars are of the opinion that 'Dasharatha Jātaka' in 'Jātakatthavannana' (i.e. stories of the Buddha's former births), a work available in Pāli language, is the original source for the Rāmāyana. In Dasaratha Jataka we find Rāma Paṇḍita (Rāmā, the wise) and Lakshmaṇa (the lucky) and Sīta as the children of Dasaratha, the king of Banaras to the queen consort and eldest of his sixteen thousand wives. After her death, he marries another in her place and begets a son by name Bharata. Dasaratha, on her insistance to crown Bharata, and after understanding from soothsayers that he would live thereafter for only twelve more years, asks the other two elder sons to 'go to some neighbouring kingdom or to a woodland' and return only after his death. The dutiful sons do what their father wanted of them and leave the palace weeping. Sīta, their sister, also bids farewell and joins

6. Monier Williams, M. 'Indian Wisdom' 4th Edition, London, 1893, p, 363.

Rāma Paṇḍita, her brother. Daśaratha dies during the ninth year. Against the ardent desire of his mother, Bharata as a righteous brother, goes to bring back his elder brother, the true heir. On hearing all details, Rāma Paṇḍita 'neither sorrows nor weeps; emotion in his mind is none', and to the surprise of Bharata, explains the impermanence of things mildly declining to accept his request and gives his 'slippers' made of straw–'Tin-Pāduka'. On the suggestion of Rāmā, Lakshmaṇa and sister Sīta also return with Bharata. It is only after three years therefrom that Rāmā returns, keeping up to the words of his father and gets crowned. Sīta, his sister is now married to Rāmā and becomes the queen consort. Both live happily for over sixteen thousand years, and then go to heaven.

This is a story related by Buddha with an allegorical significance as follows –

"At that time King Suddhodana (Father of Buddha) was king Daśaratha, Mahāmaya (mother of Buddha) was the mother, Rahul's mother (Buddha's wife Yashōdhara) was Sīta, Ānanda (Chief desciple of Buddha) was Bharata and I myself was Rāmā Paṇḍita".[7]

It may also be noted that the stories centred round Kishkindha and Laṅka are completely missing in this Rāmāyana.

There are two more Buddha Jātakas on the story of Rāmāyaṇa viz. 'Ananakam Jātakam' and 'Dasharatha Kathanam' which are comparatively of minor importance.

Coming to the Jaina versions we find two very striking Rāmā – sagas. One is the 'Pauma Chariya' (i.e. Padma Charitra) of the 3rd Century A.D. by Vimala Suri, a Shvetambara Jaina and the other Uttara Purāṇa in 898 A.D. by Guna Bhadra, a Digambara Jain. In both Rāmā, Lakshmaṇ and even Rāvaṇ are followers of Jainism, and are accorded vulnerable positions among

7. No. 461 of Vol – IV of 'The Jataka, Ed. by Prof. E. B. Cowell and translated by W. H. D. Rouse, M. A., (Cambridge – at the University Press, 1901.)

the Sixty three Jaina Saints. The salient features of Panma Chariya are –

(i) Rāvaṇa has only one head. Due to ten reflexions in a garland of diamonds, he comes to be called as *Dasa – greeva.*

(ii) Indra, Yama, Varuṇa etc. are only human beings. So also Vāli, Sugrīva, Hanumān etc.

(iii) Vāli relinquishes his kingdom in favour of his brother Sugrīva and takes to Jainism.

(iv) Hanumān marries Anaṅga Kusuma, the daughter of Rāvaṇa's sister Chandranakha and also as a friend of Rāvaṇa, marries his daughter Laṅka Sundari.

(v) Khara is Chandranakha's husband and has a son Shambooka.

(vi) Dasharatha has four wives and Shatrughna is the son of Suprabha, the fourth.

(vii) Rāvaṇa sends Vibhīshaṇa to bring the heads of Dasharatha and Janaka. Both run away when Vibhīshaṇa arrives, placing their effigies. Vibhīshaṇa severs the heads of the effigies and throws them into the ocean.

viii) Rāmā during exile marries three other women and Lakshmaṇa eleven.

(ix) Shambooka is beheaded by Lakshmaṇa unknowingly while cutting bamboos and consequently Shoorpaṇaka comes lamenting to Rāmā but later requests him to marry her.

(x) Rāvaṇa himself utters a lion's roar. Rāma goes to Lakshamaṇa to caution him in the forest, during which period Rāvaṇa carries Sīta away.

(xi) Rāmā again marries the thirteen daughters of Sugrīva after Sahasagati's (not Vāli) death.

(xii) Lakshmaṇa (the Nārāyaṇa) kills Rāvan (the Prati-Nārāyaṇa).

xiii) On the whole, Rāmā has 8000 wives and Lakshmaṇa 16,000 after return to Ayōdhya.

(xiv) Sīta also at the end, after handing over her two sons to Rāmā, takes to Jainism and reaches Heaven.

(xv) Lakshmaṇa after death goes to hell, Rāmā after penance to heaven, and Rāvaṇa after many births becomes an 'Arhat', a super saint in Jainism.

Chief characteristics of Uttara Purāṇa are mentioned hereunder –

(i) Sīta is the daughter of Rāvaṇa, born to Mandōdari by her drinking from a pot the blood of a rishi named Gritsmad of Daṇḍakāraṇya. It was preserved by Rāvaṇa in his palace, stating that it was poison.

(ii) Rāmā is the son of Subala, Lakshmaṇa of Kaikēyi, and the other two of some other queen whose name is not stated.

(iii) Rāvaṇa, coming to know from astrologers about his doom through his daughter Sīta, orders Māricha to carry her away and drop her in a lonely place. Māricha puts her in a Manjoosha and throws it into a ditch in Mathila, which is by accident found by Janaka while tilling the ground.

(iv) Rāmā after marrying Sīta, weds seven others and Lakshmaṇa sixteen. All live happily at Banaras with the consent of Dasharatha.

(v) Rāvaṇa in the guise of Rāmā abducts Sīta on hearing of her exquisite charm from Nārada.

(vi) Rāvaṇa does not touch any woman without her consent lest his power to travel by air should vanish.

(vii) Lakshmaṇa kills Vāli and Rāvaṇa too.

(viii) Rāmā on the whole has 8,000 wives and Lakshmaṇa 16,000.

(ix) Sīta has eight sons. She is not banished at the end.

(x) Lakshmaṇa dies due to serious illness and enters hell, whereas Rāmā embraces Jainism and gets salvation.

(xi) Sīta with several other queens accepts Jainism and enters heaven.

These Jaina Rāmāyaṇas have given rise to very many other works in several other Indian and particularly South East Asian Languages. The *Swayambhu Rāmāyana* in Āpabhransha and *Pampa Rāmāyana* of Kannada are exemplary creations in Indian languages on these aforesaid Jaina Rāmāyaṇas.

There are very many Purāṇas which have within themselves the story of Rāmāyaṇa, each with its own unique exposition and cultural complexion. It is here that more and more of deification of the major characters is exhibited and the final culmination is brought out in the Brahmānda Purāṇa with *Ādhyatma Rāmāyaṇa* as its final part. Rāmā is depicted as Parabrahma - high above Brahma the creator, Vishṇu the Protecter and Mahēsha the destroyer. Rāmā, the Parabrahma, is said to be the creator of not only the Universes innumberable in number, but also Brahma, Vishṇu and Mahēsha themselves. It may however be stated here that -

(i) Vishṇu Purāṇa depicts Sīta as Ayōnija i.e. Self Born.

(ii) *Śhiva Mahāpurāṇa* describes Hanumāṉ as the son of Śhiva.

(iii) *Brahma Vaivarta Purāṇa* gives a tale of Māyā Sīta (false Sīta) created by fire-god, who alone is abducted by Rāvaṇa.

(iv) *Skanda Purāṇa* depicts Hanumāṇ as the incarnation of Rudra.

(v) *Garuḍa Purāṇa* states that it was Rāmā who disfigured Surpanakha.

(vi) Ādhyātma Rāmāyaṇa states that Rāmā showed his divine form to Kaushalya with four hands carrying Shankha,

Chakra, Gada and Padma, and also that Lakshmaṇa had a complete fast for twelve years. It speaks of a surprising sentiment in Rāvaṇa that he carried away Sīta with the sole intention of getting salvation at the hands of Rāmā, the Supreme Incarnation.

(vii) *Māhābhāgvata* (*Dēvi*) *Purāṇa* also states that Sīta was the daughter of Maṇḍōdari.

There are a few Rāmāyaṇas of repute which deserve our careful consideration –

Adbhuta Rāmāyaṇa states that it was primarily due to the curse of Nārada that Vishṇu and Lakshmi were to incarnate as Rāmā and Sīta respectively, Sīta taking birth as daughter of Maṇḍōdari.

Ānanda Rāmāyaṇa comes out with a strange story of Rāvaṇa abducting Kaushalya at the time of her marriage with Dasharatha. Sīta is born out of fire (agnija).

Here Uma tests the chastity of Rāmā after the abduction of Sīta. Another remarkable element that we find here is the promise of Rāmā to the celestial women who fall in love with him, regarding the fulfilment of their desire in Krishṇāvatāra, as also Rāmā's boon to a maid servant to reincarnate as Krishṇa and Rādha.

Hanumat Samhita goes a step further and states that Sīta creates from her own body 18,108 ladies and that Rāmā also assumes the same number of forms and makes marry with them like Krishṇa with Gōpikas.

There are several other books in Indian languages with varieties of versions. Two however are outstanding – the *Kamba Rāmāyaṇam* of Tamil and Tuḷasidāsa's *Rāmacharit Manas* of Avadhi, the language spoken at Ayōdhya. One identical deviation from the normal story of Rāmāyaṇa is the colourful depiction of the Pre-Matrimonial Love of Rāmā and Sīta – a scene which is not found in any other epic on Rāmāyaṇa before the breaking

of the bow by Rāmā at the Swayamvara in Mithila.[8] Kamba Rāmāyaṇam being a work of about the 12th Century A.D. and Tuḷasi Rāmāyaṇa of 1574 A.D., there is every reson to believe, as several scholars have categorically stated, that Tuḷasidas of Kashi was considerably influenced by Kambar, of the far South in India, thereby suggesting the perpetual existance of cultural integration in Indian Literature through Rāmāyaṇa.[9]

Now, we shall march South-East wards and try to relish as to how the South East Asian countries have enlightened themselves with our story of Rāmāyaṇa.

It is astonishing to observe that this story of Rāmāyaṇa has reared a cultural unity of Asia and hence has rightly been called the 'Bible of Asia' and the 'Odyssey of South East Asia'. Mr. J. M. Gadet of Tokyo describes the Rāmāyaṇa as "a work combining the popularity of the Arthunian legends, the literary works of Shakespeare and the authority of the Bible".[10] W. F. Stuttern observes in his work 'Indian Influences in old Balinese Arts' that "there will be among the many other heroes one from the Rāmāyaṇa whose character a child in Bāli may adopt as his own ideal of life".[11]

Let us begin our short 'Rāmāyaṇa Yātra' from Ceylon which is most intimately connected with India geographically and culturally, through Rāmāyaṇa, Laṅka being the home of Rāmāyaṇa, though, of late, it has become a problem to identify the Laṅka of Rāmāyaṇa with Ceylon. It was Kumāradāsa of the Royal family of Ceylon who gave '*Jānakiharaṇam*', a mahākāvya in Sanskrit in the 7th century A.D. It is certainly linked with Raghuvamsha of Kāḷidās and Bhatti Kāvya (Rāvaṇa Vēdha). Nevertheless it has a few features of its own. One singular feature

8. See 'A Comparative study of Kamba Rāmāyaṇam and Tuḷasi Rāmāyaṇ'- Dr. S. Shankar Raju Naidu. Published by University of Madras, Madras 600005.

9. See, 'Kambar Aur Tuḷasi' - Dr. S. Shankar Raju Naidu, published by Universiry of Madras, Madras-600005,

10. 'The Ramakien - The Thai Epic' by J. M. Tokio, 1971, p. 23.

11. The Indian Society, London, 1935, p. 9.

is the fascinating scene of the Romance of Rāmā and Sīta before their marriage, but only after the breaking of the bow, because of which literally and technically, it cannot be accepted as Pre-matrimonial love. Sīta was a 'Veerya Shulka' and the moment, the stipulated condition is conquered, she becomes the rightful person of the conqueror. Sīta tells Rāvaṇa that she is 'in a vow of chastity for three months after which he might have his way!' Later it is stated that Vāli enjoys the fruits of a garden at Ceylon which Rāvaṇa is said to have been looking on in the company of Sīta! But in a mild confusion, Vāli seizes Sīta and brings her back to Rāmā.[12]

Coming to Burma, we find one Rāmā - Saga, 'Yam Pre' (Rāmā Show) by name, where Rāmā is 'Yam' and 'Sīta' is Thida. Here it is Surpanakha herself (Gambi by name) who entices away Rāmā in the form of a deer. On the pressure of Thida (Sīta), Lakshmaṇa goes in search of Rāmā after drawing magic lines around the cottage and asking her not to cross them. Rāmā is treated in a lighter vein and humourous manner. Rāmā and Lakshmaṇa get tired after their search of Sīta and fall asleep under a tree in each others' arm, seeing which Sugriva, struck by their brotherly affection, weeps from the tree top with tears falling accidentally on Rāmā and Lakshmaṇa and thereby waking them up. Here Sugrīva is stated to be Tara's husband. Earlier, Rāvaṇa too lifts the bow but it is Rāmā who breaks it. Still Rāvaṇa is said to be demanding Sīta's hand. Even Paraśurāma is said to be trying for Sīta! It is Rāmā and not Lakshmaṇa here who kills Indrajit. Observing the serious situation, Rāvaṇa is showed as friending Rāmā but he is shot dead when he tries to run away.

There is one work with the name '*Kalai Rāmā*' of 1800 A.D. which apparently seems to be an adoptation from Tamil. In Burmese Rāmāyaṇas, there is generally a touch of Buddhism which is but natural. Even in the modern Burmese Literature, considerable influence of Rāmāyaṇa is apparent.

12. Dr. V. Raghavan, The Rāmāyaṇa in Greater India, p. 7.

Let us now proceed to Thailand (Siam). *Rāmakien* or *Rāmakīrti* in Thai is the most famous version which has been kept alive through oral traditions. Now it is in perfect verse form. One of the capitals in Siam is Ayōthia i.e. Ayodhya! Rāmā Kien is a big epic. There is a fight between Lakshmaṇa and Hanumān here followed by a reconciliation. Rāvaṇa is showed to have come as an ascetic prior to the erection of the bridge and to be advising Rāmā to give up the idea of the war with Rāvaṇa! Hanumān here is quite different. He makes love with many ladies, once even with Maṇḍōdari in the guise of Rāvaṇa! He even befriends Rāvaṇa once successfully and finds out the secrets of Indrajit. Rāvaṇa employs Benyagai, the daughter of Vibhīshaṇa, to float in the form of Sīta over the river Gōdāvari. Rāmā seeing this scene, weeps, but when Hanumān begins to burn her body, she comes out in her original form and is however pardoned, being the daughter of Vibhishaṇa. In an earlier place, it is stated that Gautama had cursed his spoilt wife Ahalya to remain in the form of a stone till she is used in the construction of the bridge by Rāmā! Hanumān becomes the son of the daughter of Gautama and remains in the womb for 30 long months and consequently is born white as an adolescent boy of sixteen! He is supposed to be immortal and capable of changing his form at will. Angad is depicted as a minister of Bali! Bali also, it is said, has Maṇḍōdari for a short time when she gets conceived! Daskantha (i.e. Rāvaṇa) also is said to be efficient in changing his form and makes merry even with fish, elephants etc. Here Sīta is born with a divine disposition as the daughter of Maṇḍōdari. Rāvaṇa hearing from his astrologers, puts her in a box and throws her on the waters. Maṇimēkalai, the Sea-Goddess (who is the daughter of Kōvalan-Mādhavi in the Tamil Epic Śilappadikāram!) rescues her. She reaches the hands of Janaka when he tills the ground. Here again, Rāmā and Sīta exchange glances through a window, which apparently is an influence of Kambar.[13] Paraśurāma here is not a sage, but a demon, Rāmāsura. Kambar's influence reflects again in Thai when Shatrughna performs the last rites for Daśaratha.

13. Ibid., p. 72.

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The deification of Rāmā is exhibited in Thai Rāmāyaṇa when Vāli catches hold of Rāma's arrow and realises Nārāyaṇa in Rāmā. Rāvaṇa tries to win Hanumaṇ by offering him a high position in his army but in vain. Like Vāli, Kumbhakarṇa also is said to have a realisation of Rāmā being Nārāyaṇa and goes to Heaven after death.

There is some humour too in Hanumān. He enters the secret chamber of Maṇḍōdari and ties up the locks of her hair with Rāvaṇa's! Regarding the fire ordeal it is said that Sugrīva sets the pyre and a golden lotus appears underneath Sīta's feet and saves her from the flames. After the death of Rāvaṇa, it is said that Maṇḍōdari becomes the wife of Vibhishaṇa! Sīta is said to have been exiled by Rāmā by seeing the picture of Rāvaṇa drawn by her, which she did unwittingly on the insinuation of the daughter of Shurpanakha. At the end, the sons of Sīta shoot at a tree in the forest which creates a terrorising big roar and is heard by Rāmā also who was just setting up the Ashvamēdha Yāga. Hanumān, Bharata and Shatrughna are sent after the sacrificial horse for fight, whom the boys defeat. But Bharata recognises the resemblance in the countenance of the boys, and the final reconciliation emerges. Rāmā requests Sīta to accompany him to Ayōdhya but she flatly declines. After Rāmā's return, Sīta is informed that Rāmā is just dead. Sīta comes and weeps bitterly, which forces Rāmā to inform her that it was only a rest. But Sīṭa subsequently prays to Mother earth and disappears in her arms.

Coming next to Laos, we find that it has certain deviated versions original to itself. It is said that Daśaratha ruled this country and Rāvaṇa Indrapatta Nagara. Nangchandra (Sīta) is said to have been the daughter of Dataratta and is carried away by Rāvaṇa. It is on the prayer to Indra that Dataratta gets Dēvaputra Pra-Lam (i.e. Rāmā) as his son with a brother, both of whom go to bring back Nangchandra (Sīta). Rāmā here, surprisingly, is turned into a monkey for three years when a son Hanumaṇ is born! In Laos, there are four indigenous Rāmāyaṇas. In one, it is stated that Daśaratha took to Vānaprastha with

Lakshmaṇa and his mother! *Rāmā Jātaka,* the biggest among the four, is Buddhist oriented. It is said here that Rāvaṇa had misbehaved with the queen of Heaven assuming the form of Indra and consequently she is born as his own daughter and finally becomes the cause for his death. Here Rāmā has only one brother, Lakshmaṇa. Angada is depicted as the son of the widow of Sugrīva. Rāmā and Sugrīva are elder to Vāli! The burning of Laṅka is done by both Hanumaṇ and Angada! Later Rāmā shoots out an arrow with a message to Rāvaṇa to return Sīta, but in vain. The fire ordeal is conspicuous by its absence. Hanumān gets a fine human form and becomes a 'Joint Ruler' with Rāmā at Ayōdhya. However he finally becomes an ascetic. Sīta is banished here again due to her drawing the picture of Rāvaṇa.

In *North Laos Version,* Sīta is born from a tree in Rāvaṇa's garden. Janaka (Kannaka) takes her as an adopted daughter. Yet in another version '*Luang Prabang*', Mando (i.e. Maṇḍōdari) is depicted as the fourth wife of Daśaratha and Sīta as Daśarata's daughter from her!

There is yet another very interesting Rāmāyaṇa in Lava language in North Siam, wherein it is stated that Daśaratha and Rāvaṇa are cousins! Rāmā here too has only one brother, Lakshmaṇa. It is also mentioned that Rāmā had already married several times before marrying Sīta, and has four sons, all of whom join Rāmā during the memorable fight with Rāvaṇa. Rāmā is said to have married again twice during his search for Sīta, first the sister of Vāli – Sugrīva and the second, the widow of Vāli. These two wives also, together with their sons Hanumān and Khwan Theafa join Rāmā in war. Rāmā Jātaka, with all the variations, justifies the position of an allegory like the Daśaratha Jātaka.

Now coming down to Cambōdia, we find Rāmāyaṇa inter-penetrated in their culture, and all fine arts including sculpture, painting and literature, as in very many South East Asian countries, right from the 5th century A.D. With other episodes, Cambōdian Rāmāyaṇ '*Ram-Kerti*' contains the sub-episode of Shambooka,

the sage, who is killed by Rāmā on the advice of his guru. Here Rāmā leaves for the forest on the pressure of Kaikēyi and not on his own. Lakshmaṇa gives up sleep and food for the entire period of fourteen years! Here again we find a fight between Hanumān and Lakshmaṇa. Together with the Mount Kailash, Hanumān is aaid to have brought mysterious lake-water, wine of the king of the bulls, pollen grains of lotus and an emerald stone for pounding, which was kept by Rāvaṇa secretly in his bed-room under his own pillow. Sīta, here again, is said to have drawn the picture of Rāvaṇa on the request of a Yakshīni in disguise, which becomes the cause for her exile. In this work *Rāma-Kerti* (Rāma's Fame) the bow is bent by Rāmā alone but it is not broken. He, however, shoots an arrow to show his prowess, which resounds like 10,000 thunders and lightning.

Coming a little southwards, we come to the Malaysian Rāmāyaṇas which are equally fresh in outlook and expression. Here Laṅka is the place of Swayamvara and not Mithila. Deification has reached its zenith. Rāmā has become the incarnation of 'Dēva Bērembun' i.e- Dēva Brahman. Rāvaṇa (named as Wana) is given twelve heads, the eleventh and twelfth being hidden within his crown. Before the marriage, and after success in the tests of the bow and the sala trees Rāmā and Sīta go for an outing and on their way back, Rāmā is confronted by Rāvaṇa who is foiled by Lakshmaṇa. But later Rāvaṇa entices the brothers in the guise of a golden deer, and carries Śīta away. Here Hanumaṇ is originally conceived by Sīta and is later transferred to Angin (Anjana) by wind.

In *Seri Rām*, which is a modern work of Jāva, we have the generally prevalent Rāmāyaṇa with the only difference of the Rāvaṇa's story in the beginning. So also in the *Pattani Rāmāyaṇa*, we have very little deviations excluding Sīta being the daughter of Rāvaṇa. In *HIKAYAT SERI RĀM*, of course, we find a few significant changes. For instance, Maṇḍōdari is Dasharatha's wife. Rāvaṇa brings a Maya Maṇḍōdari to Laṅka and begets Sīta, who, on the advice of astrologers, is thrown into the sea, but is saved by one sage 'Maharesi Kāli'. Here Kaikēyi is absent,

and Rāmā goes to the forest at his own will. Another interesting feature here is the position of Vāli, Sugrīva and Anjani as children of Gautama and Ahalya! Hanumān surprisingly is the son of Rāmā and Anjani, who had turned into monkeys due to their eating the same fruit. Hanumān is born to Anjani during her virginhood as a result of a curse of her father Gautam, for her concealing her mother's action. Vishṇu is born as Rāmā to Dasharata as he was earlier defeated by Rāvaṇa. Sīta is banished here too due to her drawing the picture of Rāvaṇa. Another new feature is the form of Indrajit with three heads and six hands! Maṇḍōdari here is the first wife of Daśaratha! There is a concubine by name 'Bālya Dari' in the place of Kaikēyi. Rāmā and Lakshmaṇa are born to Maṇḍōdari, and Bharat and Shatrughna to Bālya Dari excluding a daughter Kikewi Dēvi who becomes the cause for Rāmā's banishment. Rāvaṇa carried away a duplicate Maṇḍōdari but still Daśaratha flies over to Laṅka and sleeps with her producing a girl. Rāvaṇa's first wife, foreseeing the future, becomes a sanyasin. Indrajit also attends the Swayamvara with Rāvaṇa and resents his father's proposal to carry away Sīta. Here another test of finding out Sīta from among 1000 similar forms in a temple is introduced, in which too Rāmā alone succeeds. Guha here offers his kingdom to Rāmā during exile, but Rāmā declines. Another interesting episode of Rāmā and Sīta bathing in a pool, getting transformed into monkeys and consequently Sīta conceiving is pictured here. Lakshmaṇa saves them and the sperm is said to have been transferred to Anjati (Anjana) by Wind God, and thus the birth of Hanumān is affected with a monkey-body and human-face on Rāmā's wish. Rāmā and Lakshmaṇa build for themselves two palaces on two mountains to reside independently after their return from Laṅka without disturbing Bharata and Shatrughna. Shurpanakha makes a false accusation against Lakshmaṇa to Khara-Dushana that Lakshmaṇa killed her son as she did not yield to immoral desires. There is one very strange episode here depicting the Sage Gautama as a son of Daśarata's doorkeeper, though in another version, Gautama is depicted as Daśaratha's brother. During Gautama's absence, Ahalya who is called as Devi Indra, gives birth to a

son named Vālin to a god and yet another time a son named Sugrīva. Dēvi Indra's daughter Anjana also betrays her father and consequently he turns the former two into monkeys. Anjana becomes an ascetic but during her penance happens to meet Rāmā and begets Hanumān. Vāli drives away Rāvaṇa and marries his wife Maṇḍōdarī (Maṇḍu Daki) but Rāvaṇa gets her back during the seventh month of her pregnancy and transfers the child in the womb to a goat. Sīta, during abduction drops a ring into the beak of a bird, which Rāmā gets later. Hanumān here is the son of Rāmā, and he recognises him by his ear-rings.

In one Malaysia version, Maṇḍōdari, the mother of Rāmā, dies due to son Rāmā's separation, but in a later version it is Daśaratha. Rāvaṇa puts a stop to war for forty days. However, every time the war is waged, a great warrior dies. So also Rāmā from time to time sends Hanumān to Rāvaṇa to see as to whether he would surrender and further killing could be stopped, but Rāvaṇa wants Lakshmaṇa to surrender whom he takes to be at the bottom of all trouble. Māya Sīta episode also is introduced through Indrajit and it is Hanumān who breaks the falsity to Rāmā and consoles him. So also Hanumān gets from Sīta herself the secret of Rāvaṇa's life being in his small head. Rāmā thus kills Rāvaṇa and then enters Laṅka. On hearing of the success of Rāmā, Bharata, Shatrughna and even Janaka with their family reach Laṅka to see Sīta. Now Rāmā gives his sister Kikewi in marriage to Vibhīshaṇa. It is only now that Maṇḍōdari realises that Sīta is her daughter. At the end, Lava marries Indrajit's daughter and Kusa, another Rakshasa's daughter, and it is Kusha who is made the king of Laṅka. Vibhīshana declines to rule over any kingdom and prefers to be with Rāmā, marrying his sons to the daughter of Bharat and Shatrughna. Lava is made king of Ayōdhya, and Rāmā and Sīta take an ascetic life. After forty years, Rāmā goes to his eternal abode.

In another version, Lakshmaṇa is made to marry Shūrpanakha and yet in another version Lakshmaṇa is depicted as being elder to Rāmā.

Hanumān, in one Malaysia Rāmāyaṇa uses the shoulders of Rāmā, his own father, as a spring board for the great jump! It may thus be concluded that out of all the characters, "Lakshmaṇa has captured the imagination of the high and low in Malaysia".[14]

Now let us visit Indonesia (Jāva, Bāli etc.). We find Rāmāyaṇa here at least from 7th century A.D. in art and literature. The oldest available work is *Kavi Rāma* or *Kakawin Rāmāyaṇa.* It is supposed to be a work of the 10th century by one yōgishwara but it is not authentic. It has 26 cantos with 2774 verses. Its source seems to be Bhatti Kāvya i.e. Rāvaṇa Vadha of 6th - 7th century A.D. Kakawin is an adaptation with several original touches. It states that Rāvaṇa showed Sīta the false heads of Rāmā and Lakshmaṇa to seduce her, and that Sīta had sent a letter also with her Chooḍāmaṇi to Rāmā from Laṅka. It is said here that Indrajit had seven wives, all of whom fight with him in the war and are killed. Rāmā, Vishṇu's incarnation, makes the form of Sabari beautiful. Here again, at the fire ordeal, Sīta is saved by a golden lotus offered by the god of fire.

It is said that there are more than 200 versions of Rāmāyaṇa, small and big, in Jāva alone. In one version, we find a sword in the place of sandals. Sīta's hobby is being in a small zoo of birds and animals, in which she wants to add the golden deer. Māricha here is Rāvaṇa's brother. Hanumān takes three days to fly across the sea and reach Laṅka. Kumbhakarṇa is killed by Lakshmaṇa, Indrajit by Hanumān's biting off his head, and Rāvaṇa by the crushing of two rocks with him in between, as a revenge of his earlier actions to these rocks who originally were his daughters. In certain later Jāvanese Rāmāyaṇas, Maṇḍōdari is Rāmā's mother as also of Sīta, and Rāmā is Hanumān's father and Anjani is Hanumān's mother and Sugrīvan's sister. Hanumān's son Tugangga is brought up by Rāvaṇa. Several such surprising deviations are found in several versions of this place.

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14. Ibid., p. 133.

In the Bāli Island, there is a work called *Caritra Rāmāyaṇa*, otherwise known as *Kavi Janaki*. It is a brief epic written in 50 Anushthup metre. But there are very many other versions too. Importance here is accorded to Pancha Kanyas among whom four are from Rāmāyaṇa –

" अहल्या द्रौपदी सीता तारा मंदोदरी तथा ।
पंचकन्याः स्मरेन्नित्यं महापातक नाशनम् ॥"

(Ānanḍa Rāmāyaṇam, Janma Kānḍam, Canto. V)

Rāvaṇa is an object of veneration here, as the king of Demons (Bhūta Rāja). He is endowed with 10 heads and 1,000 arms carrying all weapons equating with Lord Śiva and designating as Mahādēva.

In Annam (Champa), we find sufficient influence of Hinduism and Buddhism with Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata right from 2nd century A.D. The people compare their king with Rāmā. We find a text of Rāmāyaṇa belonging to 7th century A.D. following Vālmiki. However fanciful major innovations are absent here.

In Phillippines, however, we find the influence of Islam and even Christianity in names and incidents. Gabrial is the Supreme God in the Rāmāyaṇa itself. The kingly characters are called Sultana, showing that the Rāmāyaṇas are creations of 17th – 19th century. In one version known as '*Maharadia Lawana*' (i.e. Mahārāja Rāvaṇa) Rāmā and Lakshmaṇa are born of the same father but different mothers and are treated as equals. Lakshmaṇa here is an astrologer too. Rāvaṇa's main defect is said to be his vile tongue and setting people against one another. Here, Rāmā and Lakshmaṇa hear about the beauty of Sīta and go on their own accord to win her. There is no bow-arrow test, but a game called 'Sipa' where the suitor has to kick a ratten ball to the apartment above where the princess resides. The princess puts her handkerchief, betel-nut case and ring into the ball and throws it down. Rāmā succeeds in this test. There is yet another test of killing a big snake in a mountain, which again is accomplished successfully by Rāmā, and consequently marries the

princess. There is the deer incident. It is a deer with golden horns. The princess longs for it. At first Rāmā goes after it and ultimately cries for help, hearing which Lakshmaṇa is forced to follow. The deer doubles itself and both Rāmā and Lakshmaṇa are stranded. After futile pursuit, they return to see her missing and hear from women-folk about her abduction by Rāvaṇa with seven heads. It was he who himself had come as deer. Here Hanumān is named as Lakshmaṇa. When Rāvaṇa approaches the abducted princess, fire prevents him. Monkey Lakshmaṇa informs Rāvaṇa of the fight and on his way gives betel to Princess who has had no betel after abduction and brings her back to Rāmā. War breaks out later and Rāmā kills Rāvaṇa with the secret weapon of Rāvaṇa himself, brought by monkey Lakshmaṇa from Laṅka. At the end the monkey transforms itself into a handsome prince and is happy with Rāmā. After twenty years all return to their original city and have a festive period.[15]

Thus we observe that there is a happy blending of the Hindu, Buddhist and Jaina traditions of Rāmāyaṇa in South East Asian Rāmāyaṇas with very many original innovations, not otherwise found in Indian arts and Literature. Hence we may well reciprocate the sentiments expressed by the Indian High Commissioner in Singapore Mr. Siddharthachari that "intimacy between South East Asia and India was simultaneous with understanding". Let us hope and trust that on the basis of the study of Rāmāyaṇa, "relations between India and South East Asia would be further strengthened. India was not just South Asia but has been traditionally also a South East Asian entity".

After a study of the various versions of Rāmāyaṇas, Indian and South East Asian, it can well be concluded that Rāmāyaṇa is an epic, the story of which has, in an unparalleled manner, evolved and considerably changed from age to age, country to country and culture to culture according to the rich fanciful imaginations of the authors.

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15. Ibid., p. 137.

Dr. K. V. Raman: Regarding some of the variations found in the Rāmāyaṇa story in different places, I may point out that in every concept or idea, the tendency of it taking certain regional forms was at work. The variations can be attributed to one or more of the following factors.

1. Minor modifications suited to the local customs and traditions. For eg. Kamban's description of Sita's abduction by Rāvaṇa differs from that of Vālmīki in minor details.

2. Poetic license or Author's emphasis: For example, Kāḷidāsa who wrote the story in poetry in his famous '*Raghuvamsa* has not just copied Vālmīki but has made a few departures as well. In depicting characters, a poet would like to highlight a particular character of his liking. For example, Kamban's charactersation of Gugan or Hanumān.

3. Religious rivalry of later times: The Rāmāyaṇa story became extremely popular throughout the Indian subcontinent and even beyond as it was rooted in the cultural ethos of the land and times. It is possible that rival religious sects were anxious to like themselves with the epic in someway or the other. A parallel we see in Krishṇa's story also. The Jain mythology makes Krishṇa related to one of the Tirthankaras. A Pāṇḍyan king claims in his inscription that one of his ancestors advised Rāvaṇa to make peace with Rāmā.

4. The main Rāmāyaṇa story and its ramifications can be reconstructed independently also by examining the well-known literary and artistic landmarks. We have well-dated works dealing with the Rāmā story like *Bhasa's Pratimā* Nātaka, Kāḷidāsa's *Raghuvamsa,* Bhavabhuti's *Uttararāma-charita,* not to speak of the numerous other works making indirect references to the Rāmāyaṇa episodes. For instance, the references we get in the Śaṅgam works, Āḻvār's *Divya-prabhandams* etc. are quite considerable. By comparing the accounts found in such early works, one can reconstruct the continuous link of the Rāmāyaṇa tradition through the ages.

We also have one important source viz. well-dated sculptured panels depicting the Rāmāyaṇa scenes, some of them going back to the Gupta period. For example, the Rāmāyaṇa panels found in the temple of Deogarh, is of the Gupta period. Similarly at Ellōra. Later examples are found in the Chōḷa, Hōysāla and Vijayanagara temples, a comparison of which will show the common trends as well as regional variations if any. Sculptural panels were intended for the commonfolk also to see, and hence, they would reflect the prevailing popular versions.

Mr. M. Arunachalam: I am simply amazed at the vast erudition displayed by the speaker in collecting such a large quantity of material on the subject of the Rāmāyaṇa. Let us not be allergic to the term Hindu. It was a term applied by people who came into India by the Khyber pass to indicate the people and the culture which existed beyond, that is to the east of the Indus. From *Indus–Hindu.* The religion then prevalent in this part of the country was one which followed the Vēdas and so many call it the *Vaidika* religion: as some would label it today, we may even call it the *Sanātana* religion.

The speaker is right when he says that the Rāmāyaṇa is THE EPIC of India and it has moulded the behaviour, conduct and goals and aspirations of the people of India ever since Vālmīki wrote down the story in the First Epic. As some Western critics seem to imagine today, there is no harm in assuming that it was the sage Vālmiki who first collected the stories of Rāma and put them down in writing as a continuous epic narrative. All mention, all writing and all the different versions of the story of Rāmā that we come to know of today, are only after Vālmīki.

It may interest Indian audience to know that the Rāmāyaṇa story has left a great cultural impact on the lives of the people of Thailand and Malaysia. The gift of his sandals by Rāmā to deputize for him as the ruler in the Kōsala State and the installation at Nandigram (instead of the capital city of Ayōdhya) seems to have caught the imagination of the people in these countries. The Sanskrit word for sandals is *pāduka.* For them

it has become Śri Pāduka (pronounced there Seri Pāduka). Since Malaysian independence in 1957, the term Śri Pāduka has been added on to the full official title of the Ruler. He is known as Duli Yang Maha Mulia Seri Pāduka Baginda Yang Di-Pertuan Agong. All official correspondence there goes in the name of *Seri Pāduka.* The term *dūli,* occurring in the full name of the ruler signifies Pāda-dūli 'the dust on the sacred sandals of his Majesty the victorious ruler'. The term *Baginda* is from *Vahai* (Tamil name for a tree symbolical of victory in Tamil heroic poetry) and *Indra. Seri Pāduka* is also a title of honour conferred by the ruler on distinguished subjects. The Sultan of Selangor conferred this title on the occasion of his 38th birthday on Deputy Prime Minister Tun Abdul Razak. So there, Śri Pāduka has come to mean a symbol of royalty, and of loyalty to the throne.

In Thailand also the Rāmāyaṇa had an equally meaningful impact. The Kingdom of Thailand in the past was very much conceived as the kingdom of Rāmā, the avatar of Vishṇu the Protector. Their capital city was known as Ayōthia, and the people called their kings Rāmā. They have for their royal crest Garuḍa the divine Eagle, mount of Vishṇu. Their classical dances and temple sculptures, portray only the Rāmāyaṇa motifs.[1]

All these no doubt speak volumes for the spread of the Rāmāyaṇa culture in those countries.

Before examining the Rāmāyaṇa 'versions' in South East Asia and other places, we should clearly bear in mind that the story is not any story, the characters any characters, and their relationship any relationship. For us the story, the characters, Rāmā and Sīta, and Hanumān and Rāvaṇa. are all the Rāmā, Sīta, Hanumān and Rāvaṇa and so also the others are those of Vālmīki. To any Indian, Rāmā and Sīta are not mere hero and heroine in a story; they are the Supreme Being incarnate on the earth, out to uplift mankind, and His consort or Grace or

1. From a paper presented by S M. Ponniah at the Second International Conference—Seminar on Tamil Studies, Madras, 1968.

the Mother through whom His compassion is channelised. All the other charactors fall into position with reference to this concept. We as Indians cannot afford to ignore this concept in the examination of the story, through whatever route it might have travelled, and in whatever from it might be narrated.

The Jātaka stories are all a later invention and however interesting they may be, can have no relevance to Vālmīki's story.

We may venture an explanation for the many variations of the story as it is known in the different regions of South East Asia. In the ancient past, India was having an overseas trade when its citizens went out not only as traders in the agricultural and other produces and in the handicrafts of India, but also as the messengers of India's culture, its art and its religion. Such cultural ambassadors had been going to the foreign countries from the coast of Tamilnad and from Bengal in the remote past. The existence of many temples there on the South Indian and the Indian model, the forms of worship and even the relics of songs of Tamilnad indicate that the Indians had made a colonization of many parts of those areas, not as conquerers, but as ambassadors of culture. Naturally they would have narrated the great stories of India to them with great fervour and devotion. The people of those countries certainly listened to the stories of the Indians. They remembered some characters and some incidents. So when the narrator returned to his own country, India, the natives of the place, at least the gifted among them, began to retell the stories they had heard to interested audiences. When language, culture and civilization were entirely different, the retold stories also became different. They were no longer the original Rāmāyaṇa but new fabrications resulting from memory even by those gifted people. So when we think of the Far East versions and even the Jain and Jātaka stories in our own country, we should forget the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa and look at them as at some novel story.

The speaker has indeed made an exhaustive survey of the story. • The survey only shows how far the people of those regions who heard a recitation of the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa or an exposition thereof were able to remember it in all its details and retell them.

It is quite natural that they remembered the main trend of the events and incidents but forgot the relationships and the motivation. They made a jumble of all the characters and we know that the only relationship between our Rāmāyaṇa and the overseas stories is that the names like Rāmā, Hanumān etc. are also found in the others. Otherwise the two had nothing in common. Anybody has been made anybody's husband or brother or father or wife or mother. In the result we have a permutation and combination in all possible ways of all the characters in our Rāmāyaṇa. So we cannot say that this is the Rāmāyaṇa story at all. They are all new stories and the mere mention of familiar names such as Rāmā, Rāvaṇa, Lakshmaṇa and Hanumān does not make them the Rāmāyaṇa story of Vālmīki and I don't think it is correct to say that they are versions of the Rāmāyaṇa. For example in the Aesop's fables and the Pancha tantra, we have many stories in which foxes, jackals, lambs, lions, hares etc. play a part. Because these animals are there, we don't say that all the stories are one, or that they are the different versions of the same story. So also here, each is a different story featuring a different set of animals. So also here. The overseas versions are also different stories featuring a different set of human beings whose names are common. This commonness does not make them the Rāmāyaṇa. The Tamil proverb *Sītaikku-Rāman-Sittappa* is quite relevant here. The intelligent wife of an idiotic cowherd one evening told him, 'There is a Rāmāyaṇa *pravacana* in the temple by a great pandit. Go and listen to the exposition: it will confer great merit on you'. He went, listened the whole night and returned. 'What did you learn?' 'I learnt that Rāmā was father's brother to Sīta'. The survey of Far East Asian Rāmāyaṇas should not leave us in this frame of mind.

I would like to draw here a parallel in the story of *S'ilappadhikāram*. This is a great classic, a great epic, the first epic in the Tamil language, about which the language can justly be proud, as proud as Sanskrit can be of Vālmīki. As in the case of Vālmīki, in Tamil also there is an opinion that Iḷango Aḍigaḷ, author of *S'ilappadhikāram* took the story from folklore. There is also current a ballad on the story of Kōvalan and Kaṇṇaki,

which is of course much later in point of time; it has been adapted from the folklore prevalent in the day and not from *S'ilappadhikāram.* Here the story is all vulgar. Kōvalan is a good-for-nothing idiot, Mādhavi is a brazen prostitute and Kaṇṇaki is a cruel women crying for vengeance. The student of literature would consider a comparison of the story of *S'ilappadhikāram* and of the Kōvalan ballad a desecration of the altar of the Tamil Muse. I would extend the same feeling to the comparison of Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa and the different 'versions' of the story as found in Far East Asia.

I would like to add that so far as Tamil balladry is concerned, the Rāmāyaṇa had not lent itself to many by-stories and ballads to be derived from it: we have less than a dozen ballads from the Rāmāyaṇa, while we have about a hundred long ballads based on the Mahābhārata. The Rāmāyaṇa upholds an ethics of Truth and Honour; there is no deviation from this code and so there is no variety of popular stories from it.

Dr. Gangadharan: M.A. M.Litt. Ph.D. We are grateful to Dr. Shankar Raju Naidu for his illuminating and informative lecture on the different versions of the story of *Rāmāyaṇa* current in the literatures of the South East Asian countries. It was a practical example to show how an original traditional story or theme could get distorted to an unbelievable and unimaginable extent. At the end of his lecture he had concluded that

(1) the *Rāmāyaṇa* is only a story and is not a historical kāvya and

(2) the *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa* has been developed subsequent to the *Jaina* and *Baudha Rāmāyaṇas.* Unfortunately, he had no time to explain the basis of these two conclusions, as he had to describe in detail the variations in the individual versions of the story of *Rāmāyaṇa* in the Far East. The two conclusions reached by him do not seem to be correct.

When we are able to believe the historicity of an event which had taken place 1976 years earlier, I do not know what prevents us from believing that Rāmā was a historical person. We are

indebted to the early indologists of the West for their interest in the preservation of our ancient literature. But there had been some indologists who had a critical view influenced by their preconceived fanciful notions and ill-conceived bias. At times some of us get fascinated with some of these ideas and begin to doubt the age-old traditional views.

It is well-known how the story of *Rāmāyaṇa* had a profound influence on the culture and growth of our nation. Right from the writers Bhāsa and Kāḷidāsa onwards upto the poets like Rāmabhadra and Cakrakavi in the 17th Century there had been a galaxy of stars in the field of Sanskrit dramas and poetry who were deeply inspired by the lofty theme of the *Rāmāyaṇa.* Either the whole story or sections from that story have been adapted by them to create their excellent pieces. A majority of the plays have been based on the two epics is an evidence to show how the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki had a profound influence on them. It is also well-known how the theme had a great influence in the moulding of the character and conduct of the people of our country in the path of *dharma.* It has also been a common practice to write poems on historical persons. It is really puzzling how the view that Rāmā is a creation of fiction would help us to enjoy the great truths enshrined in the great epic in a better way. The historicity of the *Vālmīki Rāmayaṇa* gains support from the following discussion.

A *jyotiṣa* work called *Jātakasaṅgraha* by Lakṣmaṇdās Naunidhirāma has a formula[1] to find out "who will predecease the husband or wife" from the names of the married couple. This formula has been found to be true when applied to the names of the couples in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata.* The names of the characters in the two epics could not have been

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1. Nāmno mātrāḥ kṛtaguṇāḥ dviguṇākṣarasaṁyutāḥ /
   Naṣṭāstribhirdviśeṣe strī mriyate khaikayoḥ pumān / VII 76 (page 62),
and the verse
   Ekikṛtyākṣarān mātraḥ nāmnoḥ strīpumsayostribhiḥ /
   Bhāge dviśeṣa strīnāśaḥ puṁsaḥ syādekaśūnyayoḥ //
   Garuḍapurāṇa I. lix. 41 (Venkatesvara Press edition, Bombay, 1906)

so ingeniously chosen, such that they satisfy this formula. The formula states, "*The sum of the values of the consonants (half for each consonant) in the names of the husband and wife is multiplied by two. Similarly, the sum of the values of the vowels (one for short and two for long) in both the names is multiplied by four. The sum of these two products is divided by three. If the remainder is one or zero, it indicates the death of the husband first and if it is two, the wife dies first.*"

For illustration let us take the names Rāvaṇa and Maṇḍōdari :

The sum of the values of the consonants in the two names multiplied by 2 leaves 8.

The sum of the values of the vowels in the two names multiplied by 4 leaves 40,

The sum of the two products leaves 48.

48 when divided by 3 leaves no remainder indicating the death of the husband first. This is what actually happened.

The second conclusion reached by the learned Professor rests mainly on relative chronology of the story of *Rāmāyaṇa* in the different recensions.

The date of Pāṇini marks an important period in the History of Sanskrit literature. It has been pointed[2] out that Pāṇini belonged to the middle of the 5th century B.C. Vālmiki's *Rāmāyaṇa* has many archaic forms not sanctioned by the rules of Pāṇini. In the place of the imperative second person singular form 'paśya' in later classical Sanskrit we find the use of the form 'dṛśya'.[3] It is held[4] that the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki was composed not later than 600 B.C. Although Buddhism was prevalent at the time of Pāṇini, the *Jātaka* stories were compiled subsequent to Pāṇini's period.[5] From the above we may conclude

2. V. S. Agrawala, *India as known to Pāṇini*, p. 475.
3. See Satyavrat, *The Rāmāyaṇa—A Linguistic study.*
4. S. N. Vyas, *India in the Rāmāyaṇa Age*, p. 7.
5. See V. S. Agrawala, *ibid.* p. 473.

that the *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa* is the basis for any one of the different versions of story of Rāmā and that Rāmā was a historical person.

Mr. S. Lakshmirathan Bharati: We have been listening to a very interesting presentation by Dr. S. Shankar Raju. He has expounded the widely divergent versions of the story both in India and elsewhere. We find that the different authors, using their skill and creative imagination and by adopting the names of such characters as Rāmā, Rāvaṇa, Daśaratha, Maṇḍōdiri, Sīta etc. and some of the basic human relationships as love and hate, kinship and affiliation, abduction and war, have spun the story by manipulating varying permutations and combinations as suited the cultural values that prevailed in their times and locations. The question is raised what meaning or purpose they serve us in the present context apart from being pure literature. Attempts to draw some values therefrom as models in morals, religion or politics lands us only in futile controversies. Especially the later versions of Kambar and Tuḷasidās who had to adopt Rāmā as an Avatār of God, had only detracted from them their merit as pure literary works of art by making it possible to stir up religious passions and bolster superstitions worthy of the primitive times of savagery and barbarism. People go even to the length of politicizing them in India by burning Rāvaṇa or Rāmā effigies. It is amazing that anyone could see any value in these differing versions, any value towards national integration.

Mr. Vedam Venkataraya Sastri: Though Rāmāyaṇa has become famous and popular in the world after Vālmīki made an epic thereof the story appears to have been an ancient one having its mudras either in folklore or in Buddhist or Jain legends. Though the work of one poet the present Rāmāyaṇa also differs in its text as various manuscripts differ, whole chapters and passages found in one totally missing in others. Texts of the same Rāmāyaṇa found in North India, Deccan and South India do not agree in the order of the chapters or verses or in some places minor stories. It is said that the *Ādityahṛdaya* found in the *Yuddha Kāṇḍa* is a later interpolation as earlier commentators left

it out from commenting. The story of Śānta, the only daughter of Daśaratha and elder sister of Rāmā is not found in some texts.

All this led scholars to conclude that the text of Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa took its present form sometime about the beginning of the Christian era. It is considered as the *Ādikāvya* or the first work in Kāvya form and its ideals of monogomy even to the princely caste and kingship also point to an advanced stage in Hindu civilisation and social evolution. It formed a good and convenient subject for early poets like Bhāsa, who preceded the great Kāḷidāsa and people in their abundance of sympathy to Sīta altered the end of the story from a tragedy into a comedy by bringing about, on the stage, a union of Sīta and Rāmā in the seventh canto or kāṇḍam. Ever since there is no tragedy in Sanskrit drama though the *Anka* or *Uthsrstika-Anka* is found as a tragedy in Brata's classification.

It is unnecessary to dwell much on the popularity of the Rāmāyaṇa and the varieties of Sanskrit dramas based upon that. The translations both in Indian and foreign languages are innumerable. Śouth East being a part of Greater India there is no wonder that it became popular even there. At central Jāva the Sailendras were overthrown and the Saiva dynasty of Sanjaya came to power in the ninth century and ruled up to 927 A.D. During roughly A.D. 879-927 many Hindu temples were erected and the greatest was at Prambanan (a group of eight). Ānanda Coomaraswamy has made the following remark: "The Prambanan reliefs are if anything superior to those of Borobudur, and certainly more dramatically conceived, and the aspect of the shrines, despite their rich ornament, is more masculine." A Kāvya in old Jāvanese differing in some respects from that of Vālmiki appears to have been composed during this period. Some assign either the eleventh or thirteenth century to this poem. In Cambodia, during the time of Bhavavarman I, about 590 A.D., Saivism and Vaishṇavism were patronised. Rāmāyaṇa along with the Māhābhārata and the Purāṇas was popularised. The Harihara cult gained ground. At Angkorwat (meaning *nagara vata* in Sanskrit) Sūryavarman II (A.D. 1112-1152) constructed a great

temple for Vishṇu. Some of the scenes of Rāmāyaṇa sculpture here are wonderful. Rāmā chasing Māricha, the false golden deer, the fight between Vāli and Sugrīva and Sīta's fire ordeal are some of the masterpieces. Many inscriptions of this place mention Rāmāyaṇa besides the Vēdas, the Mahābhārata, Pānini's grammar and the like.

What interests a student of comparative literature is the bulk of variations rather than similarities of the Rāmāyaṇa. Among non-Indian versions - Indonesian and Thai or Siamese a mass of material not known to the Sanskrit people, is of special importance. Just like the Buddhist or Jaina versions Rāmā, Lakshmaṇa and Sīta were Daśaratha's children and marriage between brother and sister are mentioned. The Laotian Rāmāyaṇa, as in India, mentions Sīta as a daughter of Rāvaṇa. Daśaratha's capital was Ayōdhya in some and Vāranasi or Benares in some. There is much information on Hanumān. Though the basic story of the Rāmāyaṇa as found in Vālimiki is maintained to a greater part the series of variations, versions and recantations that differ in fundamentals need careful study from the historical point of view to find out whether Vālimiki got an old story for adaptation for his poem or his very poem got distorted by his religious adversaries. Several seminars were recently held at Delhi and other places and it is expected that finally the sources of Rāmāyaṇa would clearly be known.

Maha Vidwan Pandit V. Natesan: Rāmāyaṇa written by Vasishta, Nāradha and Vālmīki in Sanskrit and Kamban in Tamil is one of the greatest of poems. The career of Rāmā is narrated with a lot of variations. Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābāratha have been a national wealth for atleast 2000 years. Rāmāyaṇa influences the literary production as well as the moral and religious thought of the Indian population in South East Asia. Dr. S. Shanker Raju Naidugaru said that Rāmāyaṇa, due to variations in narration in different countries, is nothing but a story and Śilapadikāram is the Ādikāvya of Tamil Nadu. His statement about the two works is far from the truth.

The world has accepted Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa as the Ādikāvya in Sanskrit. Kāvya means an artificial epic in which form is regarded as more important than the story; the alaṅkāra or poetical ornamentation is abundantly applied. The Rāmāyaṇa is a real epic of the romantic type. Rāmāyaṇa arose in the old kingdom of Kōsala (modern Oudh). There is evidence indicating that the Rāmāyaṇa was composed in the country of which the capital was Ayōdhya, the Royal residence of the race of Ikshvāku (Āryan dynasty) and the hermitage of Vālmiki was on the South bank of the Ganges. Śilapadikāram is a "historical novel", written in the 8th century A.D. or 12th century A.D. and it has no kāvya lakshṇa and its author Iḷaṅkō is not the brother of Chēran Chenguṭṭuvan.

"India has enabled her many varied people to find a solid basis on which to build civilization whose splendid vestiges remain an outstanding evidence of intelligence and skill of Asiatic people at a period when Europe was still on the throes of barbarism." - Frederic Louis.

"The Rāmāyaṇa is a binding force, a common link and a common repository of an ancient heritage for all the countries of South and South East Asia". - H. K. Chaturvedi.

"There is no doubt that it is one among the great books that have influenced the hearts and the thoughts of whole peoples." - Rt. Hon. V. S. S. Sastri.

"The Rāmāyaṇa, has, perhaps, exercised the most formative influence. Side by side with Mahābāratha it stands as the inspirer and the stimulus of the thoughts and aspirations of India". - Sir C. P. Ramaswami.

"I do not know any book anywhere which has exercised such a continuous and pervasive influence on the mass mind as these two - Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābāratha. Dating back to a remote antiquity they are still a living force in the life of the Indian people." - Jawaharlal Nehru.

These apply not only to India but also to foreign countries. It is equally true of South East Asia - Burma, Cambodia, Thailand, Indo-China, China, Indonesia, Japan. In 1971 seven Nations took part in a Rāmāyaṇa Festival held at Parambanan Hindu Temple in Indonesia. Burma, India, Khymer Republic, Malaysia, Nepal and Thailand took part in the International Rāmāyaṇa Festival since 1961. This shows that Rāmāyaṇa is an old poem of the world. Our epics are an object lesson to the whole world in the difficulties and destruction (perils) of a search for power; they generally represent the sum total of Indian life at its tensest; they are valuable as national warnings as well as exemplars. So long as the hills and dales are there, the story of Rāmā will be throughout the world. This fact is proved by the number of books on the Rāmāyaṇa published and sold so far in the languages of Europe and Asia without any advertisement.

There is a common tradition that a part of land went under the sea. There is a Tamil tradition that this old "Kumari Kaṇḍam" (Lemuria continent) of Mouriya extended from Africa to Far East upto Borneo and Java. Agastya had organised and colonised the South India and South East Asia and brought about the osmosis of culture. Ramism, the cult of Rāmā as a chief god at the present day prevails over an extensive area in India. Rāmā was at first only an epic hero; the character of Rāmā is a model of morality.

The importance of the Rāmāyaṇa is two-fold - literary and religious. It served as a model to be aped by the later poets. Even to-day the recital of it is listened to with rapt attention, devotion and delight by all Indians. This Sanskrit Rāmāyaṇa was translated into spoken dialects in India and other places during the middle ages. But the Tamil versions of the Rāmāyaṇa in Tamil Nadu began in the Śaṅgam Age and not at the beginning of the 12th century A.D.

Probably no work of world literature, secular in its origin has ever produced so profound an influence on the life and thought of a people as the Rāmāyaṇa. Rāmā and Sita have, for a great

many centuries, exercised a far-reaching moral effect as paragons for imitation among Indians and others.

In Rāmāyaṇa two parts can be clearly distinguished. The first is an ordinary narrative of human life and the second part represents a narrative of terrestrial events based on mythological elements traceable to the earliest Veda. The name of Sita appears in the Rig Vēda as 'the personified Furrow invoked as an agricultural goddess.

Ceylon: Verses occurring in the Rāmāyaṇa are also found in Pali language in the Buddhist and Jain texts. The history of early Buddhism supplies no decisive information. In the oldest Buddhist literature the Pāli Tipitaka there is no mention at all of the Rāmāyaṇa. In a Jataka about Daśaratha, Rāmā consoles his brothers for the death of his father, Daśaratha and there is not a word about Rāvaṇa in it. This shows that there were stories about Rāmā in different dialects and Buddha Jataka might have been based on one of them. Daśaratha Jataka mentions Rāmā and Sita as brother and sister. Rāma, Sita and Lakshmaṇa have lived in exile for nine years. At the request of Bharatha, Sita and Lakshmaṇa returned home. Sita and Rāmā were crowned. Rāmā ruled for 16,000 years. A popular version of the Rāmāyaṇa in Sinhalese folklore came through South India.

China: In 247 A.D. Rāmakatha was translated into Chinese by Ko-So-C, Nidanod and Kik-Ka-Ya and in 251 A.D. Daśaratha Jataka was translated into Chinese by Sogdian Monk of India. The Chinese works value the monkey, "Sun Wu Kung" more than Hanumān, the messenger of Rāmā.

Tibet: Six fragments of Tibetan Rāmāyaṇa manuscripts have been discovered at Tun Hwang, the starting point of the famous old silk route, which linked China with India. The pictorial Tibetan Rāmāyaṇa is called 'Citralakṣaṇa'. There is a Khotanese Rāmāyaṇa in Central Asia. Khotanese is an East Iranian language. In Siberia there is a Rāmāyaṇa Folk song in Kalmuch language and Mongolian versions are available there.

Thailnad: In 1798 the King Rāmā I had written Rāmāyaṇa and named it as 'Rāmā Kien'. Rāmā Nāṭakas are called 'Khon' and 'Nang'. Thai literatures are noted for the story of Rāmā. Rāmā Leela is depicated in paintings and carved out in monastic architecture on temple walls; in Campa in Indo-China Vālmīki is regarded as an incarnation of Vishṇu and Rāmā as the model Ruler. With a few minor variations Rāmakirti is a translation of Vālmīki's work. Rāmakirti recognises Rāmā as a man only. The story of Rāmā is translated in sculptures and murals. Rāmāyaṇa is enacted in theatres.

Kambuja: In Cambodia one can see in the Hindu temples pictorial Rāmāyaṇa carved on stone walls. Buddhists in Thailand and Cambodia enact the story of Rāmā on the stage. Carvings and paintings of Rāmāyaṇa are still famous in Laos and Burma. Thus the influence of Indian Art was predominant from early days till the advent of Khymers. (7th century A.D)

Indonesia: India had regular contact with Indonesia from the early centuries. Mahomedans of Malaya and Indonesia value Rāmayaṇa more and treat Rāmā, Sīta, Lakshmaṇa and Bharatha as model characters to be emulated. Tava has been described to the search party sent out to find Sīta. A Hindu monument attesting the popularity of the Rāmāyaṇa Tjandi Wara Djongvang in Central Java. Muslims still venerate this Hindu temple and even Hajis offer incense and flowers here. Under the King Sindok, Kavi Yogisvara wrote Rāmāyaṇa in Javanese and he has not mentioned about Rāvaṇa in his poem. Rāmāyaṇa has remained a living tradition in Bāli. Scenes from the Rāmāyaṇa are depicted on temple walls, ritual objects, wooden carvings and paintings. Story of Rāmā is enacted on the stage on important festival days. Thus Rāmāyaṇa has influenced Bālinese life and thought in Bāli island even to-day.

The Chairman in his concluding remarks thanked the Leader for his interesting speech and the other speakers for taking part in the Seminar.

The Institute of Traditional Cultures held a symposium to commemorate the birth centenary of Pandit M. Raghava Ayyangar at 3. P.M. on Friday, the 8th September 1978 in room No. 48, Madras University Departmental Buildings. Dr. K. K. Pillay, M.A., D.Litt., D.Phil. (Oxon.) was in chair. An audience of about 40 persons was present. The following is the report of the speech delivered by Dr. J. Parthasarathy, M.A., Ph.D., one of the participants, and formerly of Agra University, Agra.

Dr. J. Parthasarathy: At the outset I must express my sense of deep gratitude to Professor K. K. Pillay, Director of this Institute of Traditional cultures for having given me an opportunity to speak about an eminent centenarian Tamil Scholar under whose care as a grand-parent I grew up. Dr. K. V. Raman as well as other friends - Dr. C. Balasubramanian and S. V. Subramanian have evinced keen interest in having this symposium on the occasion of the birth centenary of Raghava Iyengar and I am beholden to them as well. The passage of a hundred years from the birth of a man is a point of vantage for any one to look back and see in perspective the life he had led against the background of his times and the continuing relevance of his work for men of a subsequent generation like ours. One is reminded of Sage Vaḷḷuvar's maximum :

> "Whether a man lived worthily or unworthily will
> be known from the *effect* he leaves behind"*

It is of the *'eccam'* mentioned by Vaḷḷuvar, equivalent to 'effect' in English that I wish to speak to-day. The passage of years helps us to view things in a dispassionate and objective perspective and I shall endeavour to present before you facts and comments with the detachment of an objective student of Tamil literature and history.

My subject is "the man and his work" and this implies a general survey of the life and achievement of Raghava Iyengar. For convenience of treatment I shall split my subject into three parts and highlight certain aspects under each part. These parts or sections are :-

* takkār takvilarenpatu avaravar eccattāṛ peṛap paṭum.

I. His life and professional career.
II. His personality and friendships.
III. His work and genius.

I. LIFE AND PROFESSIONAL CAREER

Taking the first section for consideration, we may notice that Raghava Iyengar lived from 1878 to 1960 and that it is now 18 years since he passed away. His professional career begins in 1901 with the opening year of this century and spans out to 1960. Making allowance for about 14 years spent outside regular professional assignments, the duration of his working career may be reckoned as 46 years, falling in the first half of this present century. His working career falls into 4 periods as indicated below:–

(i) The early years when he was first a Tamil Teacher and then editor of the 'cen-Tamizh' journal of the Madurai Tamil caṅkam (1901–1912) – 12 years.

(ii) The later years when he worked as Chief Pandit, in the "Tamil Lexicon" of the University of Madras (1913–1938)- 26 years.

(iii) The years of his Professorship of Tamil in the University of Travancore (now Kerala) (1945–1952) – 8 years.

(iv) The last phase (1953-1960) – 7 years.

THE EARLY YEARS

Raghava Iyengar was born in a family which had given administrators and poets to the *sētupati* Rājāhas of Ramnad. He was the only son of *Satāvatānam Muttusāmi Ayyangār*, the poet of the Sētupati court, admired and honoured with presents for his *avatānam* abilities by eminent men and patrons of his day like Mahāvidvān Mīnākshisundaram Pillai and the Mahāraja of Mysore. Author of a Tamil verse translation of the Sanskrit rhetoric treatise *cantirātokam* and several 'prabanda' compositions, he was the guru of *Pāṇṭitturait Tēvar*, a scion of Sētupati royal family, and a scholar-patron whose munificence embraced literature,

the fine arts and all good causes. In connection with his benefactions, we have to remember a fact not very well known today. It is this: "V. O. C." (Chidambaram Pillai), celebrated in our days as our pioneer in promoting Indian shipping, owed the formation of his famous Swadeshi shipping company to the generous financial help and active support of *Pāṇṭitturait Tēvar*. This patron of the nationalist venture of Indian shipping is entitled to a place of honour along with the person who received his benefaction and guidance and became the father of Indian shipping in the South.

Not content with fostering Tamil studies by his personal example in his royal court with its daily assembly of learned men, this prince founded a Tamil academy or *Caṅkam* at Madurai in 1901. This was a modern institution of Tamil teaching and research, intended to retrieve the lost glory of the language, *Pāṇṭi-t-turait Tēvar* assigned many scholars of his court to different activities of the *Caṅkam*. Mahāvidvān R. Raghava Iyengar (cousin of M. Raghava Iyengar, older than him by eight years) was appointed the first editor of the research journal of the Caṅkam called *'Cen-Tamizh'* for its first three years upto 1904. Thereafter M. Raghava Iyengar took on the editorship and ran the journal for eight years, a period which proved to be memorable in the history of the journal as well as that of the Tamil land. The intellectual climate of those years has first to be recalled here before we can appreciate the services of the journal to Tamil letters.

The decades following 1900 witnessed a new stir in the world of Tamil learning; it was as though a nation re-awakening to a sense of its own past glories was expressing its 'first, fine, careless rapture'. The first steps for popularising the treasures of Tamil - its *caṅkam* and medieval classics - were then taken. These classics were lying unknown to the public at large, in worn-out cadjan leaf manuscripts with religious institutions and private families. Most of these works were edited with scrupulous textual correctness by Mahāmahōpādhyāya Swaminatha Ayyar and published regularly at intervals. Other scholars too like C. V.

Damodaram Pillai and R. Raghava Iyengar as well, took part in this work. Government and learned associations were bringing to light many inscriptions on stone and metal and discussions on their implications for history were in progress in many quarters. Scholarship on modern lines was growing with the introduction of English education in schools and colleges. The 'Cen-Tamizh' under the dynamic example of research set by its editor M. Raghava Iyengar, developed into a powerful forum of expression for the new stir that was in the air; it created and supported a milieu of enthusiastic intellectual enquiry, appropriate to a society, newly conscious of the glories of its own past.

The study of the past was a great driving force for Indian nationalism, right upto the nineteen-forties; the following observation made by the "Indian Express", Madras, in its editorial of the 30th July 1978 about the nineteenth century is fully true of the first four decades of the twentieth century as well:

"Sunk in the depths of national degeneration in the nineteenth century, India looked longingly back to its past in the hope that it could make its future bright. The political parties that fought for freedom were merely the instruments that sought and found political regeneration; the motive force was the past". Naturally the history of the growth of Indian nationalism has to take account of the work of savants in various regions of India who devoted themselves to a study of the past and achieved notable successes therein, which thrilled the imagination of all patriotic men and provided the ideological basis of their freedom movement. Raghava Iyengar in his "Cen-Tamizh" papers wrote vividly and feelingly on a variety of topics connected with the glories of the ancient Tamil people and their land. These were widely read and reinforced the sense of pride in the motherland then newly risen in the mind of the educated public.

Of special interest is the fact that two of Raghava Iyengar's research essays inspired two eminent figures of our freedom struggle to record in verse and prose their rapture at the revelations of India's past splendour. The first essay on "Ancienr

arts and crafts" depicting the flourishing state of Tamil industries and seaborne commerce in the Cankam and medieval ages of Tamil history moved V. O. Chidambaram Pillai, the great patriot associated with Indian shipping, to shed tears of grief at our fallen state; he has sung of his reactions in beautiful Tamil verse (translated by the present writer into English) as follows:

Oh learned one, pride of the sweet Tamil
caṅkam that flourishes these days
Many-splendoured in the beautiful town
Of Madurai, meet to be called
A temple to the southern land
Which excels among all regions
Of old Jambu's island realm,
Rising with glory, wealth and grace
Divine, all together joining
At its birth, wearing two jewels
Of Aryan and Tamil tongues

** ** ** **

Oh you who have taken the name
Ragaviengar as if feeling
Raga* thinking of the low lot
Of Indians and their past glories!

** ** ** **

Eagerly I went through your essay
That speaks at length of old commerce
And crafts of Bharatavarṣha
Noblest among the world's nations
My heart was pleased with your learned
Speech that bespoke in full the state
Of our old industry; I shed
Tears, lost in great grief, reading what
You have written of our state of sorrow,
With our arts and crafts dead, ourselves
Fallen, sunk in poverty none else
Can endure. Yet I recovered,
Felt composed, reading your account
Of to-day and feeling certain

Of the birth of good days before us.
Oh sweet benefactor! Worthy
One who spoke betimes of the state
Of our past! Who will ever say
That our Mother who has begotten you
And your Tamil, will not even
Now be blessed with the grace of our Lord?
Oh king of men gifted in speech,
Oh fine fruit of pure penance,
Whom men ripe in years and wisdom
And all ennobled by learning
Wish to see, God's grace will be yours
And you will live in health getting
All honours that accrue in life.

The second essay on "Heroic Mothers" sets out in glowing terms the heroism of Tamil women as gleaned from old literature. They deemed it their prime duty to bring up their sons as valiant ones who would return victorious or die on the battlefield; they would cut their wombs in twain rather than give birth to cowards fleeing from the battle-field. Subramania Bharati, the Tamil bard of nationalism conveyed the delight and the hope of resurgence of India's spirit that the essay had given him, in the following letters to the editor of the "*Cen-Tamizh*" (translated into English by the present writer):-

"Having seen and felt delighted at your marvellous essay on "Heroic Mothers" which appeared in the last issue of the "*Cen-Tamizh*" I write this letter to communicate my delight.

I do not come to praise your scholarship. The world knows it already. I only pay obeisance to the new fire of "Swadēsha-bhakti" which has arisen in your pure heart.

"The wheel of time revolves": So you have remarked at the end of that paper. Yes, the wheel of time does revolve. In the course of that revolution the time has come for lowly Bharat sunk in the mire of smallness to go and great Bharat - Mahābhārata-to be born.

The fire born in your heart is one of those effulgences that have appeared to show great Bharat to the residents of Bharat land lost in the darkness of a fallen state; I bow to it".

Raghava Iyengar's labours as editor of the "Cen-Tamizh" included the study of palm-leaf manuscripts of many rare Tamil works gathered by him and others for the library of the Caṅkam, some of which he brought out in print through the journal. In 1910 he published a critical edition of the *Kuraḷ* with valuable introductory chapters and notes and the commentary of *Parimēlazhakar* - all in a pocket size volume, agreeing with the dimunitive size of the *Kuraḷ* itself. His research articles which, as shown above, strengthened the sense of pride in the past of the Tamil land, also initiated modern methods of research in Tamil, showing how scientific investigation into the history of Tamil, its literature and culture, should be done and new insightful conclusions reached. In his classic research monographs - *Veḷir Varalāṟu* (essays on the origin of the *Veḷ* chiefs of Tamil Nadu) *Cēran Ceṅkuttuvan* (life and times of a great Tamil king pieced out from literary and other sources, reminding us of other well known biographies of great rulers of the world) and *Tolkāppiya-poruḷatikāra ārāycci* (literary interpretation and exegesis of the 'poetic material' chapter of Tolkāppiyam). Raghava Iyengar showed for the first time that a scholar with a purely Tamil background, not exposed to formal English education, could, by self-education and intuitive genius, produce masterpieces that announced first break-throughs in knowledge with the application of modern scientific techniques of investigation.

Raghava Iyengar's historic role as one of the founding fathers of Tamil research can have no better testimony than that of one of his fellow-workers, K. Srinivasa Pillai of Tanjore, author of a famous History of Tamil Literature. He conveyed the impact of Raghava Iyengar's writings on him in the following terms:

"I have sent you a copy of my work, "*Tamizh Varalāṟu*". The plan of this book is based on the essay you have written

in Vol. XIII of the "*Cen-Tamizh*". I wish to put this fact in my preface.

Among those who have done research in Tamil and published it in book form, you are most important. Most fitting it is to say that you are the '*Mārga-darsi*' (pathfinder) for others".

THE "LEXICON" YEARS

From the editorial chair where he pioneered research work, Raghava Iyengar switched over to an equally pioneering work in the field of lexicography for 26 years (1913–1938). The major part of his working life was spent in the compilation work of the "Tamil Lexicon" of the University of Madras; to him goes the credit of having piloted the Lexicon from its start under Rev. J. S. Chandler to its finish under S. Vaiyapuri Pillai. The plan of collection and arrangement of word material for the work was formulated under his initiative and it continued mainly on the same lines to the end. Raghava Iyengar's importance for the lexicon work has been highlighted by the first editor Rev. J. S. Chandler who wrote in the American Journal of Oriental Research as follows:

"Much of the success in launching the work and conducting it thus far is due to the presence on the staff, from the beginning, of Pandit M. Raghava Iyengar, Vidvan of Ramnad, a thorough Tamil scholar with long experience in the work of the Madura Tamil Śangam and an enthusiast in the work of the new Lexicon".

(June 1917)

The conferment of the title of "Rao Sahib" on M. Raghava Iyengar along with S. Vaiyapuri Pillai in 1936 on the completion of the Lexicon was a recognition by the then Government of his solid contribution to the success of an important project.

The "Tamil Lexicon" has by now taken its place as a remarkable achievement in the field of modern Indian lexicography. It is a unique full-length Tamil dictionary in six volumes with an appendix-volume, setting out more than a lakh and a half

word-entries collected from the widest corpus, written and colloquial, representative of two millennia of linguistic usage. Tamil-not to speak of Indian-lexicography prior to the compilation of this work was confined to the *'nikaṇṭu'* tradition in which alphabetical lists of synonyms were given, exhaustive and scientific treatment of words being unknown. Missionaries had published a few dictionaries but they did not go far enough.

The Lexicon sets forth under every word-entry glosses in Tamil and English, citing the contexts as well, from which the meanings given are deducible. This is a recognition of the cardinal dictum of modern scientific study of language that "the meaning of a word lies in its use, distribution of its contexts". Probable etymologies of words are also given. A special feature is that entries of verb-forms are distinguished by numbers which indicate the classes to which the verbs belong, for purposes of tense changes usually called 'conjugation'. Tamil verb-forms show irregular changes in their past and future tense formations with the result that the learner of the language, especially a non-Tamil speaker, is at sea in this matter of usage. As a dictionary on modern lines has to take care of usage in addition to meanings, Lexicon divides Tamil conjugational classes into thirteen. adapting them with some modification from Dr. Graul's classification; these are shown in a separate statement prefixed to the Lexicon and word-entries bear the numbers of the classes shown therein. This modern linguistic feature was adopted on the suggestion of Raghava Iyengar and he was responsible for carrying it through from start to finish.

About the vastness of the material collected by the Lexicon, one can do no better than quote Prof. Emeneau and Burrow who, having had the opportunity of examining the work during their compilation of the Dravidian etymological Dictionary (Oxford, 1961) express their astonisment 'at the enormous range of vocabulary contained in the literary record of two millennia duration'. About the information on verb-classes, we may note a parallel instance in recent memory. 'The Advanced Learner's Dictionary of current English, compiled by Hornby, Gatenby and Wakefield (Oxford,

1963) has set up a new precedent in classifying English verb-patterns into 25 types and showing pattern numbers against verb entries in body of the work. This has been hailed in all knowledgeable circles as a great advance in dictionary information and a positive aid to a learner of a language. Though the analysis of patterns made by the Learner's Dictionary is more sophisticated than that of the Lexicon, it is a matter for praise that the latter is an improvement anticipating the former by a quarter of a century.

It is a matter of much interest to all lovers and students of the Tamil language to state here that Raghava Iyengar has composed a new grammatical verse treatise in the manner of Tolkāppiyam and Nannūl, explaining the back-ground and the rules for the verb-classes adopted in the Tamil Lexicon: this is called *Vinai-t-tiripu-viḷakkam* and after setting out the conjugational classes it gives lists of Tamil verb-bases under each class. Released on the occasion of the author's eighty-first birth-day (1958) it covers an area of Tamil grammar left untouched so far and assures a place for Raghava Iyengar in the long galaxy of the notable grammarians of Tamil.

During the period of more than a quarter of a century spent in the service of the "Lexicon", Raghava Iyengar carried on his researches on Tamil history and epigraphy in correlation with literature, begun in the days of the "*Cen–Tamizh*" and produced four works ranking among the early achievements of Tamil research written in Tamil itself–*Āzhvārkaḷ Kālanilai* (The times of the Āzhvars) *Cācana-t-tamizh-k-kavi-caritam* (Accounts of Tamil poets from inscriptions) *Perum-tokai* (a collection of 2216 poems from Tamil commentaries, inscriptions, manuscripts and oral traditions, representing the post-cankam period of Tamil with notes and comments of literary, historical and cultural interest) and *Āryācci-tokuti* (collected researches) embodying longer articles of research written by the author from his *cen-Tamizh* days for 38 years). The first two volumes arose as lectures before learned audiences; the third was serialised in the *cen-Tamizh* magazine for a long number of years and finally published as an antho-

logy in book form in 1936. The fourth was released on the occasion of the author's sixty first birth-day in 1938. All these contribute to the great task of establishing a chronological framework for Tamil literature and history, besides filling such a framework with historical information revealed for the first time from the confrontation of multiple sources.

THE YEARS OF KERALA STUDIES

A few years after his retirement from the 'Lexicon' project, Raghava Iyengar was appointed as Professor of Tamil in charge of B. O. L. degree classes newly started in the Loyola College, Madras and in this capacity he worked for about a year. In 1945 he accepted the assignment of Professor of Tamil in the University of Travancore under an endowment by Sir Rm. Alagappa Chettiar and stayed in Trivandrum for about eight years (1945–1952). His studies during this period were naturally specialisations in the area of the inter-relationships of Tamil and Kerala culture and language. He published two anthologies of ancient and medieval Tamil poems relating to Cēra Kings, edited a *Campu* Kavya entitled *Ariccantira Veṇpā* from a unique Travancore manuscript and delivered lectures on 'Aspects of Kerala and Tamil literature' (translated into English by the present writer and published in two volumes by the University) which provide a wealth of valuable research on the land of Kerala, its festivals and observances personages, place-names and various other topics including the correlation of Tamil and Kerala studies.

During the final phase of his life, Raghava Iyengar continued his literary work, writing commentaries for portions of the Kamba-Rāmāyanam for the Annamalai University and collecting his earlier research essays and talks in suitable volumes. In 1955 he was honoured along with S. Vaiyapuri Pillai by the Tamil writers'. Association, Madras. He passed away soon after his eighty-first birth day publication *vinaittiripu viḷakkam* mentioned earlier.

II. ASPECTS OF HIS PERSONALITY AND TIMES HIS TEACHERS AND PATRONS

Having surveyed Raghava Iyengar's life and career and noticed the scholarly work that he did from time to time, I wish to speak of some aspects of his personality, so that the man may be seen against the times in which he lived. One fact is clear that scholars working in the Tamil field upto the forties were numerically far less than now and there was general respect and co-operation, not to speak of attachment, prevailing among them, without cleavages based on affiliations. The exceptions, when they came, cannot be held to have upset the general harmony of the times. When Raghava Iyengar grew up to manhood in the opening years of the present century, he studied Tamil classics and grammatical treatises, learning poems by rote as well, under *vidvans* of old vintage like his own uncle *Ariyakkuti Krishnamācāriar* and *Aranka-cāmi Ayangar*, a gem of *Pāṇṭi-t-turai-t-Tēvar's* court, a blind scholar whose memorisations of Tamil literary works were nothing short of a miracle. Prince *Pāṇṭi-t-turai* himself was one of Raghava Iyengar's 'guru's; this prince was fond of him as the son of his own deceased teacher and he took care to see that the boy grow up as one devoted to the intellectual pursuits he himself delighted in. It was as a member of *Pāṇṭi-t-turai's* circle of poet–scholars that the foundation of Raghava Iyengar's deep and incisive learning was well and truly laid. All his life he could not recall *Pāṇṭi-t-turai-t-Tevar* without a sense of filial affection; a picture of this royal patron adorned the room where he used to study and write. Appropriately the first major research work of Raghava Iyengar on a great Tamil king of the Caṅkam period *Cēran Ceṅkuttuvan*, stands dedicated to this modern successor and inheritor of the kingly tradition in a Tamil stanza translatable as follows:

> May this work, bright with its portrayal of the life
> Fascinating of the famed king *cēran ceṅkuttuvan*
> Stand dedicated to the beautiful Prince of patrons
> The Tamil Pāṇṭi-t-turai, who with eager care
> Founded the Tamil Sangam in the glorious city

And conferred greatness on poor me as well;
May good prevail in its wake!

When Raghava Iyengar worked in the Tamil caṅkam at Madurai more wealthy patrons interested in literary efforts came forward to help him. *S. Rm. M. Ct. Pottaççi Chettiyar*, then municipal chairman of Karur, and *S. Rm. Ramaswami Chettiyār* elder brother of Rajah Sir S. Rm. Annamalai Chettiyār, founder of the Annamalai University, were much impressed by his writings and gave financial help for the publication costs of his books. It is also worthy of incidental mention here that the late *Karimuttu Tyāgarāja Chettiyār*, now famous as the founder of many educational institutions in Madurai studied the *Cilappatikāram* under Raghava Iyengar, during his stay at Madurai.

THE AGE OF SWAMINATHA IYER AND RAGHAVA IYENGAR

When we recall the literary climate of the major part of Raghava Iyengar's life, we may note that it was a time when Tamil occupied a secondary status in the system of education newly established by alien rulers; English was given a prestigions position as 'the sun of the curriculum' and the medium of instruction. The practice of Rajahs of principalities and Zamindaris surviving from old times giving encouragement to men of talents, and more especially Tamil vidvāns, continued in a manner. There were Titans of massive learning with great achievements to their credit. U. V. Swaminatha Ayyar (whose eminence was recognized by the then Government which conferred a Mahāmahōpādhyāya title on him) dominated the scene with his endless industry in bringing out critical editions of almost all Tamill classics. Along with him learned circles were familiar with the names of R. Raghava Iyengar (popularly known as Periya Raghava Iyengar) and M. Raghava Iyengar (popularly known as Chinna Raghava Iyengar). They were cousins, the elder scholar's maternal uncle being the father of the younger scholar. The elder, eight years older than his junior, was Samasthāna Vidvān of Ramnad (court-poet of the Sētupati Rājah) and won his laurels quite early in life as a teacher, debater, poet and critic. His example was a source of

great inspiration to the younger scholar. The elder Raghava Iyengar was the disciple of his own uncle, the younger scholar's father, *Satāvatānam Muttusāmi Ayyangār* of whom mention has been made already.

In the course of a lecture delivered at the Madurai Tamil Caṅkam, and published later as *Sētunāṭum Tamizhum*' he has spoken thus of his uncle and guru:

"He (*Satāvatānam Muttusāmi Ayyangār*) is my dear uncle and Tamil teacher as well. He is also the Tamil teacher of *Pāṇṭit-t-turai Tēvar* who started this caṅkam and was a great lover of Tamil. While yet in his teens he performed *Satāvadāna* in Kannada language in the presence of the Karnataka Rajah, Sri Krishna Rāja Uḍayār and was honoured with presents of palanquin, umbrella, pearl necklace and gold. His powers of exposition and poetic composition won praise from many learned men; the works he composed are: *Cantirālōkam* (translation of the Sanskrit alamkara work-candrālōka of Jayadēva), *Manavāḷa-māmuni nutṛantāti, nūtṛeṭṭu-t-tiruppatiakaval and patikaṅkal, Kuru-kai-k-kalampakam* etc., This Tamil Caṅkam owes a debt of gratitude to him. The reason is that its founder, *Pāṅṭi-t-turai Tēvar* was his disciple; my own humble self who initiated the 'Cen-Tamizh' journal and set it going well, was his nephew and disciple; Vidvān M. Raghava Iyengar who conducted the journal after me with success was his own son. The person who is now conducting the journal well, Vidvān *Tiru-nārāyana Ayyangār* and Vidvān *Aranka-cāmi Ayyangār* teacher in the college attached to the Caṅkam are also his disciples. Only on account of his boundless grace I am here established as a member of this august assembly. I need hardly say that he was enabled to foster Tamil learning by the benefactions of the Sētupati Rājāhs. His ability to perform 'avadānas' (answering questions or solving problems posed by several people simultaneously) was admired and praised by that great Tamil teacher of all distinguished Tamil men of letters, *Tirisirapuram makāvittuvān Mīnātchisundara nāvalar* himself".

The bonds of kinship by birth which bound the two scholars the elder and the younger Raghava Iyengars – together*, were strengthened further by mutual love and respect knitting them inseparably throughout their lives. It is well-known that the elder scholar excelled as an orator, expounder, debater and poet-critic, while the younger's reputation was for his writings in the field of literary and historical studies. The latter used to look up to the former as his friend, philosopher and guide. On the occasion of the publication of the book *Cācana t-tamizhk-kavi-caritam* (lives of Tamil poets from inscriptions) by M. Raghava Iyengar in 1937, the elder scholar wrote to him a letter of moving affection and regard, recalling old memories from which the following is translated :

"I am greatly delighted to get your letter and book. It is quite a fine and rare work. I am sure that the world of Tamil learning will certainly appreciate and honour it, deriving great benefit from it. The dedication of the book to my uncle gives me great pleasure. I believe that it is the fruit of the penances of our forbears that you were born as a cherished progeny (in my uncle's late years), have now become a great Vidvān and offer at his feet worthy lives of poets (collected together by worthy research). Surely uncle's blessings are with us and this is the reason why we are working as intellectuals in the field of knowledge. You are aware that I am in the habit of speaking of the fact of his grace appreciatively every day. I cherish nothing greater than this".

Swaminatha Iyer (born in 1855) had already become a 'father figure' in the world of Tamil letters when M. Raghava Iyengar entered the field. The approval and approbation of this elder scholar meant everything to M. Raghava Iyengar, just then coming up. As a literary friend of *Pāṇṭi-t-turai-t-Tēvar*, Swaminatha Iyer was usually consulted on all important activities of the Tamil Caṅkam. He knew of young Raghava Iyengar's

* It is of interest to note that the cousins by birth became 'sambandhi's as well, the son of the younger Raghava Iyengar taking the elder's second daughter to wife.

penchant for research and expressed his warm appreciation of the early achievements of the young man in letters written to *Tēvar* as well as to the author. This is what he wrote then:

"It was a great pleasure to read the essays on *Nannan Vēṇmān* and others which appeared in "*Cen-Tamizh*" in this issue. What is there more precious than taking up *Caṅkam* works, most difficult of understanding, examining them and presenting the material of the research in ordered sequence? All this (achievement) is the result of efforts taken by your noble self".

(To *Pāṇṭi-t-turait Tēvar*, 1906)

"I am in receipt of the two books of *Kaliṅkattu-p-paraṇi-ārāycci* kindly sent by you; reading them gave me much pleasure. This book lays bare your acquaintance with many literary works and the systematic nature of your deep research. The style is very clear and refined. Though doing things like these may be quite natural to people like you, considering the present time one cannot but say that it is a specially valuable achievement. Friends here also looked through the work and derived pleasure from it".

(To the author, 1907)

Swaminatha Iyer was, as Subramanya Bharati put it, like Agastya of old, standing in the position of a guardian angel to many younger scholars. Raghava Iyengar was urged to greater heights of scholarly achievement by his encouragement and help.

PERSONALITIES OF THE "CEN-TAMIZH" YEARS:

During the first phase of Raghava Iyengar's professional career when, under his editorship the "Cen-Tamizh" gained its reputation as the first research journal of the Tamil renaissance of the opening years of this century, his writings and publications impressed leading intellectuals and provided the occasion for him to make many literary friendships. We shall notice here some of the personalities of the day and the contact Raghava Iyengar had with them.

T. A. Gopinatha Rao is famous today as the pioneer epigraphist of South India; to him we owe the publication of the earlier volumes of 'South Indian Inscriptions' and 'The Travancore Archaeological Series'; the historical and epigraphical papers he has left behind as well as his classic "Hindu iconography" speak eloquently of his unforgettable and unparalleled achievements in a relatively short life-span. It was the good fortune of Raghava Iyengar to get some first-hand experience of reading and copying inscriptions *in situ* in the company of Gopinatha Rao; this stood the former in good stead in his epigraphically oriented researches wherein he won great acclaim. Contact between the two scholars promoted the publication by the famous epigraphist in the pages of the "Cen-Tamizh" of many now famous Chōḻa, Pāṇḍya and other inscriptions, thus furthering intellectual enquiry in a new field. Gopinatha Rao's untimely death was mourned by Raghava Iyengar with a touching obituary notice in the "Cen-Tamizh". Later, he also wrote a short memoir of Gopinatha Rao, as an introduction to his Tamil book "*Cōla-Vamca Carittiraccurukkam*".

C. Subrahmanya Bharati, whose poems later won renown for him as the stirring Tamil poet of new Indian nationalism and the originator of a new era in Tamil literature, came to Madurai from his native town of Ettayapuram in Tirunelveli district in search of a job in 1904. At this time he was just a young man with an extra-ordinary poetic sensibility. He secured an assignment as a Tamil pandit in the Sētupati high school, Madurai for a few months (August to November 1904) thanks to the friendships he had made with scholars attached to the Tamil Caṅkam, among whom M. Raghava Iyengar had an honoured place. Bharati used to regale Raghava Iyengar and others with anecdotes of happenings in Ettayapuram court circles reciting a satirical poem *mūṭamatimālai* he had composed* somewhat in the manner of the 'Dunciad' of Pope, ridiculing a haughty foolish personality at his native place. Even though his stay at Madurai was short, the friendship with Raghava Iyengar

* This has not been printed and is apparently lost.

that he had developed, lasted throughout his life; he maintained it by his letters and personal visits to the scholar at Madras. It has already been pointed out in the first section of this lecture how Bharati's patriotic spirit was thrilled by Raghava Iyengar's paper on "Heroic Mothers (of Tamil Natu)" in the "*Cen–Tamizh*".

V. Kanakasabhai Pillai was a highly placed Government Official, a superintendent of post offices–in those days, whose research in Tamil history embodied in his work "The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago" has placed the Tamil world under a heavy debt of gratitude to him. The first-rate work he had been doing was unfortunately cut short by his premature end. As a senior scholar of established reputation he presided over Raghava Iyengar's lecture on '*Veḷir Varalāṟu*' at the fourth anniversary of the Madurai Tamil Śaṅkam; the two scholars had developed a mutual regard based on like–minded pursuits. When this revered friend passed away, an obituary article recalling his yeoman services appeared in the '*Cen-Tamizh*' magazine.

Rao Bahadur K. S. Srinivasa Pillai, Advocate, Tanjore was a striking legal luminary at his native place and also an impressive research worker on Tamil in his own right as evidenced by his famous work "*Tamil Varalāṟu*", a work which discusses with great erudition the time-frame of the early periods and writers of Tamil literature. He was an admirer of Raghava Iyengar's research and a critical reader of his articles which as he says, inspired him to chalk out his path in relation to the history of Tamil literature. His glowing tribute to Raghava Iyengar as one who by his writings in book form stands out prominently as the path-finder for all engaged in research, has been mentioned earlier. Raghava Iyengar used to recall in his personal life the attachment and regard with which Srinivasa Pillai received him at the anniversary function of the Madurai Tamil Sangam held at Tanjore in 1910 A.D.

N. Veṭachalam Pillai (later known as Maṟai–malai–aṭikaḷ) who is famous today as the initiator of the "pure Tamil" movement, was a visitor at the court of *Pāṇṭi-t.turai* where he found many

honoured intellectuals of his day. Raghava Iyengar's abilities attracted him as seen from his letter to the former in 1902 to the following effect:

"These are my words of submission to the godly presence of my dear friend and gem among learned men:-

By perusing the argumentative essay sent by you yesterday and your dear letter sent today, I feel boundless pleasure. Your subtle perception, power of logical argument, and the noble flow of knowledge occasioned by these-these are things which people like us look upon with wonder and regard". It is noteworthy that as a result of this friendship Raghava Iyengar wrote a paper on the authorship of *Kaḷaviyal-urai* in "*Jñanacākaram*" the journal of Tamil studies conducted by Vetācalam Pillai in those days.

FRIENDSHIPS OF THE MADRAS YEARS

The circle of our scholar's friends widened considerably during the long period (1913–1939) he spent at Madras in the service of the University Tamil Lexicon. The kindly regard which the first editor of the Lexicon, Rev. J. S. Chandler cherished for Raghava Iyengar has been mentiond in the first section on his professional career. When, years after his retirement Chandler happened to revisit Madras, he faithfully called at the office of the Lexicon, made long and loving enquiries of Raghava Iyengar and his family and wished the project begun by him all sucess. However the work had a chequered interval when C. P. Venkatarama Iyer was in charge of it. S. Vaiyapuri Pillai came in the thirties to the editorship, he respected Raghava Iyengar as an elder scholar who had initiated the dictionary making and felt that his guidance was invaluable in all matters. His preface to Raghava Iyengar's 'shashti-abda-purti' memorial publication *Ārāyççi-tokuti* (1937) setting out the achievements in the field of of Tamil research of the author is a fine piece of appreciation, testifying to the fact that long intimacy had led to greater esteem and warmth of friendship between the two scholars.

There were several eminent scholars besides the editor, on the staff of the Lexicon in those days, all of whom deserve recall hence as Raghava Iyengar's friendly colleagues and companions. V. M. Gopalakrishnamāchariar, a scholar of the old tradition has been deservedly called '*Vyakhyānachakṛavarti*' for his commentaries on the Tamil classics, notably his magnum opus, the Kambarāmāyana volumes. P. S. Subramanya Sastri, linguist and grammarian, as distinguished in Tamil as in Sanskrit, was for sometime assistant editor of the Lexicon; before his recent passing away at a ripe old age, in 1978 he sent a message to the Raghava Iyengar centenary committee wherein he speaks reminiscentially of the fact that his unsurpassed mastery of Tolkāppiyam and Tamil grammatical tradition (on which he took his doctorate degree) was achieved after he had studied Tamil works with Raghava Iyengar and Gopalakrishnamachariar. The three scholars living in Triplicane and its neighourood used to go to their office located in Limbdi gardens in Royapettah High Road and later in 'Marine Villa' a bungalow on site of the present university departmental buildings, hiring a jutka (horse-carriage) in common; naturally, the time taken for this jutka ride-about half an hour-would be well spent in talk covering inter alia, points of literary specialisation of each. S. Somasundara Desikar a traditional Vidvān, of the lineage of a famous old grammarian of Tamil, was a pioneer in publishing century-wise accounts of Tamil poets; his literary contact with Raghava Iyengar was mutually beneficial. Mention must also be made of V. Narayanan, an Assistant Editor of vast learning who succeeded P. S. Subramanya Sastri and had great reverence for our scholar. The chairman of the Lexicon Committee, K. V. Krishnaswami Ayyar, who looked after the dictionary project, always felt the indispensability of Raghava Ienyangar for the work.

Among Tamil scholars of the day who exchanged notes on matters of common interest with Raghava Iyengar was Namasivāya Mudaliar living in San Thome. Men of the older generation will recollect that it was he who started the custom of sending Pongal greetings to his friends; his nicely printed '*Pongal vāzhttukkaḷ*' were despatched year by year to Raghava Iyengar,

among others. One cannot forget S. Anavaratavinayakam Pillai, head of the University department of Tamil, a finished scholar himself who occasionally made friendly visits to Raghava Iyengar's house. M. V. Venugopala Pillai, an octogenarian happily with us, was in those days working in the E. L. M. Fabricius High School, Purasavakkam; he greatly respected Raghava Iyengar as a senior in his tribe of Tamil literary men and kept up his contacts with him. Way back in the thirties both scholars participated in a function on the release of a poetical work on *'Pillai-uṟanka-villi-tāsar'* a devotee of Saint Rāmānuja, written by one Kaṇṇapiran Pillai, in Chintadripet. S. D. Sargunar, then the Tamil professor of the Madras Christian College was an able teacher and scholar of reputation, a Christian by faith, yet a staunch upholder of native traditions of life and learning. Raghava Iyengar honoured this able teacher of Tamil by contributing a research paper on Tamil verbs to his sixtyfirst birthday volume in 1937.

FRIENDSHIP WITH HISTORIANS

As Raghava Iyengar's researches became more and more oriented to the correlation of Tamil literature with the history of the Tamil land, well-known historians of South India like M. S. Ramaswami Iyengar, S. Krishnaswami Iyengar, K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, T. G. Aravamudan, T. N. Subramaniam and V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar became his fast friends. The first named person, Professor of History in Vizianagaram was a native of the Ramnad samasthanam area; for his informative book on the history of Jainism he gathered much material from Tamil sources staying with and learning from Raghava Iyengar for about three months. S. Krishnaswami Iyengar who held the University chair of Indian history at Madras in those days was also editing and publishing the "Journal of Indian History" from his residence in Brodies Road (Now R.K. Mutt Road) Mylapore, Madras. This journal was a recognized forum for publication of learned historical research papers. Several important articles of Raghava Iyengar, translated from Tamil have appeared in this journal; he also was consulted by the historian for references and information from Tamil sources useful for his purposes.

It is interesting to note that Raghava Iyengar's suggestions with regard to the Mauryan invasion of Tamil Nadu, and the origin of the Tiruppāvai–Tiruvempāvai observance were accepted and followed up by the historian. The article in Tamil on Tiruppāvai observance was translated by Krishnaswami Iyengar himself and published in the "Indian Antiquary". Some cantos of the Tamil poem '*Maṇimēkalai*' were rendered by Raghava Iyengar into Tamil prose for the benefit of the historian when he wrote his book: "*Maṇimēkalai in its historical setting*".

K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, who succeeded S. Krishnaswami Iyengar in the University Chair of Indian History, used to consult Raghava Iyengar along with Vaiyapuri Pillai on points of chronology and interpretation of texts; one can find references to Raghava Iyengar's views and published works in foot-notes of Sastri's important books – "The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom and "The Cōḻas'. T. G. Aravamudan, an eminent historian whose books and lectures cover the full spectrum of historical and allied studies used to spend hours in Raghava Iyengar's company, discussing a variety of literary and historical problems. He had unstinted praise for his friend's researches on the chronology of the *Āzhvārs* and the expert knowledge and use of inscriptions made in all his work. T. N. Subramanian whose writings on Tamil history and epigraphy are well-known as substantial contributions, was a familiar visitor to Raghava Iyengar's house, the elder scholar acting as a guide and philosopher for the younger one. The former's research on *Tirumaṅkai Āzhvār* and his contemporaneity with *Jñanasambandar*, discussed by the two, were translated into English by the latter and appeared in the thirties in Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar Commemoration Volume.

V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar who occupied the chair of Indian history after Nilakanta Sastri, came into contact with Raghava Iyengar around 1929 and friendship between the two ripened into a close personal one over three decades. Dikshitar's field of interest embraced Tamil studies and in all his publications in this field we find acknowledgement of the debt he owed

to his Tamil scholar-friend. His famous English translation of the *Cilappaṭikāram* which has been recently reprinted by Saiva Siddhanta Kazhakam was critically checked with the original by Raghava Iyengar and as a result many useful foot-notes and alterations were incorporated in the book. In Raghava Iyengar's sixty-first birth-day Commemoration volume, Dikshitar wrote a biographical account of the Tamil scholar wherein he stated at the end:

"There are many (scholars) who have received help from him (Raghava Iyengar). I am bound to state here with pleasure that it is only the author of the present publication (Raghava Iyengar) who has made me enter the Tamil field and who continues to encourage and help me therein.

(Ārāycci-tokuti, p. 24 (1937 edition)

When Raghava Iyengar was working at the University of Travancore (1945-1952) the literary friendship that had existed for long between him and *Kavimaṇi Dēsikavināyakam Pillai* of Putteri grew into a warm personal intimacy, thanks to the opportunities of moving together in periodical meetings sponsored by official agencies. Both served on the Text-book Committee set up by the old Travancore government, which used to meet in Kavimaṇi's house in Putteri Village. The text-books prepared under their supervision contained also some ringing children's songs under the joint authorship of the two scholars. There was fruitful literary discussion between the two; the findings of Raghava Iyengar on the date of Māṇikkavācakar together with his identification of references to miracles performed by the three famous 'Samayācārya's in Māṇikkavacakar's *Tiruvācakam* were accepted by Dēsikavināyakam Pillai and embodied in one of his prose articles (See Raghava Iyengar's *Ilakkiya Cācana-vazhakkāṟu-kal* pp. 140-144) and *Kavimaniyin uraimaṇikal*, pp. 81-87). Among other personalities in the then State of Travancore, its Dewan and Vice-Chancellor of the Travancore University, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, a unique figure as a great scholar and administrator rolled into one, comes to mind; he cherished a warm regard for Raghava Iyengar and paid a handsome tribute

to his genius and work while inaugurating his University lectures on "Tamil literature and Kerala" at Trivandrum.

DEVOTION TO REGULAR WORK

If we ask what were the struggles that Raghava Iyengar had to face in the course of his literary career, the answer is that having chosen the vocation of Tamil scholarship heart and soul, he was not career-minded and did not care for worldly advancement for its own sake. The struggles that he had to face were academic in the matter of putting across his original views and conclusions to the world of learning. He was a dedicated soul from the beginning and it was God's will that his career, very modest in terms of emoluments, should flow on an even keel from one pioneering assignment to another in the cause of Tamil, the choice falling on him in the circumstances obtaining.

In those days salaries of Tamil pandits were lower than those of others in comparable teaching occupations; even the most prestigious among them like a Swaminatha Iyer, considered himself lucky to draw a total salary slightly above Rs. 100/-, a sum that looks paltry before the inflated four-figure salaries prescribed for higher posts today! Raghava Iyengar led an austere, unassuming life and he was accessible to one and all. One could see him working in his little room in his Triplicane residence in the morning hours, making out classified slips of entries from classics or other literary material and putting them in alphabetical order in a box with cell-like partitions for different letters. In between he would exchange pleasantries with members of his household or pause to gossip with friends and neighbours who would call on him. He was a man with a ruling sense of devotion to regular work; he was always mindful of the completion of his quota of daily work or the fulfilment of the broad programme he had mentally chalked out each year, whatever may be the interruptions caused by social calls and other engagements.

As a lexicographer par excellence, he devoted his energies to the preparation of source material for the Tamil Lexicon by

indexing old thesaurus-type 'nikaṇṭū's and well-known literary compositions. He was also an anthologist, a compiler of poems in the traditional manner familiar to students of Tamil. He went on collecting verses over the years from diverse sources-commentaries, inscriptions, unpublished manuscripts and folk-chronicles and a fairly exhaustive anthology of the post-śangam periods of Tamil emerged, a treasure-house of Tamil poesy, expressive of the Tamil life of the medieval age in all its richness and variety. Raghava Iyengar's published anthologies, indices and the Lexicon itself, apart from his literary and historical papers, bear witness to the fact that the ground-work of research is hard, persevering labour in the sifting and arrangement of material in a scientific manner based on special criteria or hypotheses framed with particular points of view. Only those who put up with patient and enduring toil this preliminary analytic structure can hope to go further to ultimate success.

LIBERAL, WIDE-RANGING SCHOLARSHIP

Raghava Iyengar lived the life usually associated with a Srivaishṇava of Tamil Nadu deeply committed to the ideals of the *Tirukkuraḷ* and the *Tiruvāy-mozhi*, the former enshrining the ideals for the conduct of one's life on earth and the latter scintillating with direct experience of Godhead on earth, open to all who care to listen to the spiritual voice. With his traditional way of life he combined all the tolerance and freedom of thought that the most "progressive" Hindu can boast of. It has already been mentioned that in his "Cen-Tamizh" days the articles he wrote showed the under-current of patriotism that animated his scholarship and stirred the hearts of men like V. O Chidambaram Pillai and Subramanya Bharati; in his later years his scholarship not only plumbed the depths of Tamil literature but also ranged over its entire gamut, regardless of religious affiliations. He was equally at home in Saiva, Jaina, Buddhist and Islamic poetical works as he was in the classics of the Sri Vaishṇava faith. This can be seen from his literary work. To quote instances, he edited *Nariviruttam* a Jaina work while working in the Tamil caṅkam where he also studied critically many manuscripts of the Jaina faith.

After his retirement from the Lexicon, he helped to edit "*Nonṭināṭakam*" a minor Islamic work for M. H. Nayanar, then Professor of Arabic and Persian in the University of Madras. While working in the Travancore University he wrote an insightful commentary on Saiva works - *Pon-Vaṅṇattantāti, Tiruvārur Mummaṇik-kōvai* and *Ātiyulā* included in the eleventh '*Tirumuṛai*' of the Saiva canon. His expert knowledge of Saiva literature was personally witnessed by scholars of the older generation some of whom even now recall how he supplied gaps in quotations from *Tēvaram* and other *Tiru-muṛais* which Swaminatha Iyer left unfinished as he was delivering lectures at the University of Madras.

Raghava Iyengar was a devotee of the Tamil Muse in all her manifestations; classics like *Cilappatikāram* and *Tēvaram* were as much dear to him as smaller prabandhas like Kōvai, *ulā paraṇi* etc., To him was vouchsafed the vision of the goddess of Tamil in all her glory and varied forms down the millennia. We may remind ourselves here that such an example was set already before Raghava Iyengar by the doyen Swaminatha Ayyar himself who had edited Jaina and Buddhist kavyas, notably *Jivaka Cintāmaṇi* and Maṇimēkalai with supreme veneration for their religious nuances, acquiring the expert knowledge of an actual follower of the faiths concerned in the course of his editorial labours, amounting to a literary 'sadhana'.

It is wrong to imagine that Raghava Iyengar, who remained a Pandit in the oriental style in his career though he was later designated as a Professor in Trivandrum, was a unilingual scholar limited to Tamil. In the case of his great elder contemporary Swaminatha Ayyar, it is true that he did not care to touch English even for signing his name and all his work lay entirely in the field of Tamil. Raghava Iyengar's situation was different. With his mastery of Tamil learning, he combined an acquaintance acquired by his own efforts which enabled him to assimilate the literature in English on epigraphy, history and indology he was interested in, though he never took the step of writing in English. Without this equipment of at least a modest attainment in English needed

to use books therein to his purpose, the break-throughs in historical investigation to his credit could not have been achieved.

S. Somasundara Bharati, advocate and Tamil scholar of Madurai, who in his later life could not see eye to eye with Raghava Iyengar on some issues, was however an ardent admirer, going into raptures over the modern scientific methodology of research adopted for the first time in Tamil by his friend in his book 'Vēḷir Varalāṟu'. He was particularly struck by the fact that this technique had evaded the grasp of admittedly English educated people. The following is an English translation of extracts from his Tamil letter dated 30th May 1913:-

"It is not enough to say that I read your short work entitled 'Vēḷir Varalāṟu'. I drank it through in full without intermission. With a flowing style and noble matter in tune therewith, it captures the senses and the mind at the same time; it affords knowledge and enjoyment to those who read it. The kind of response it arouses is not just emotional; it rouses the subtle faculty of the mind, and brings about the delight of the inner mind plunging into the big ocean of research and getting elevated by churning its waters.

"If only the efforts of Tamil scholars with new scholarship in English can yield us a result similar to that of this *Vēḷir Varalāṟu*, the present fallen state of our Tamil goddess cannot continue long. All the results of your research are not acceptable to me *in toto*; you will also agree that on further research there may be things that change. Yet the technique of your research, the methods and materials handled for the purpose, the strength of mind that weighs available material and takes a decision, the resoluteness of accepting new findings with a clear vision - these and to this extent, can rarely be found even with those who have much training in English. It is this alone that greatly attracts the minds of people like us...It is my bounden duty not to forget your rare excellence as one who works for the sole object of the glorification of the Tamil land, regardless of return".

(Āṟāycci-tokuti, Introd. p. 14-15)

III. THE TOTALITY OF HIS WORK AND ITS DIVISIONS

I now wish to say something about the totality of Raghava Iyengar's work and its relevance to the present generation of scholars. His research monographs and compilations have already been introduced in a general way while tracing his career. A bibliography will give us thirty publications besides papers still to be collected.[1] One could discuss his work under various heads as the following so that the many-sidedness and depth of his writings may be properly understood:

i. Compilations and indices of source material for research.

ii. Textual criticism and emendation.

iii. Grammatical and linguistic research.

iv. Literary exegesis and criticism.

v. Chronological and historical investigations based on literature and epigraphy.

vi. Tamil culture in the wider Indian context

vii. Miscellaneous writings.

viii. Poems, occasional and topical.

One may deal, under each group with the quantum of work done by our scholar, the discussions he has initiated and the insights he has handed down to us.

Another method of studying Raghava Iyengar's works may also be adopted. They may be analysed under topical headings like his contributions to the study of Vaishṇavism, Saivism and other religions, his contributions to the study of the history of Tamil Nadu under Śangam, Pallava, Pāṇḍya Chola, Vijayanagara and modern periods,[2] his contributions to Kerala studies, his studies relating to individual classics like *Tolkāppiyam, Divyaprabandham, Tēvāram, Tiruvācakam Kuraḷ* the twin epics of *cilappati-kāram* and *Maṇimēkalai* and later prabanda works, and

1. See "Bibliography" given as part of an article in Tamil by the present writer, in "Tamizhāyvu, Journal of the Department of Tamil, University of Madras.

2. I owe this suggestion to Dr. K. V. Raman.

his research methodology in respect of language, literature and history. Separate papers are called for on each topic dealing with his labours and showing how they point to further work or how they link up with subsequent work done or anticipated for the future.

MODERN METHODS OF APPROACH

It has already been pointed out that M. Raghava Iyengar's writings have played a historic role in the first half of this century in giving new directions to Tamil studies. He was the first Tamil scholar who wrote in Tamil as a Tamil pandit but engaged himself in pure research, (then the prerogative of English educated folk) and won approbation for his new enterprise. His new orientations are analysable firstly in terms of modern methods of approach to all branches of Tamil learning-language, literature and history - which he introduced and secondly, in terms of new findings in the highways and by-ways of Tamil linguistic, literary and historical study in which he laboured for a life-time, Let us elucidate this matter further by looking at his monographs in the first place and then ranging over all his writings.

Each published work of Raghava Iyengar is an illustration of a new outlook and a new methodology of inter-disciplinary confrontation that can be applied to Tamil studies. This point has been suggested in the first section on his professional career, but it will bear more detailed explanation here with reference to each work of our author. His first monograph 'Veḷir Varalāṟu' (1904) initiated in modern Tamil the scientific technique of testing statements made in literary texts and commentaries with evidence gathered from a variety of sources, both Tamil and non-Tamil and a judicious weighing of the probabilities of the truths in question without commitments or pre-conceptions of any kind. S. Somasundara Bharati's unstinted praise of the new approach has been quoted earlier. In *Cēran Ceṅkuttuvan* (1915) he introduced to the Tamil public the method of full-scale reconstruction of the life and exploits of a famous old Tamil monarch, by sifting and weighing evidence from Tamil literature, cross-checking it with other available testimony. The book certainly gave a boost to the

glory of Tamil heroism and achievement and reminded people in Tamil Nadu of comparable books in English on Aśōka and Akbar. In *Tolkāppiya-poruḷatikāra-ārāycci* (1913) he has shown how a new synthesised frame work can be used for lucid literary explication of the conventions set out in an original work by correlating them with their later ramifications and interpretations in other works; the book also embodies a comparative and interdisciplinary approach giving us useful correlations of literature with ethnology, sociology and history.

His *Āzhvārkaḷ Kāla-nilai* (1923) shows the interdisciplinary research technique initiated in *Vēḷir Varalāṛu* attaining a peak of excellence; it is the first major research effort to bring together literary, inscriptional and other known historical evidence for the purpose of reconstructing a chronological sequence of an important period of South Indian history, linking Āzhvārs with contemporary Nāyanmārs and other personalities in an integrated investigation. His two works - *Cācanattamizhkkavi Caritam* (1937) and *Ilakkiya-Cācanavazhakkāṛukaḷ* (1973, posthumously published), are masterpieces of the study of inscriptions in the context of literature applying the new methodology of integrated study to cover a wide field. They yield a golden harvest enriching substantially the history of the Tamil land and its literature by their revelation of many unknown poets and poems and interesting facts of dynastic, social and cultural importance.

Even in the anthologies of poems he compiled - *Peruntokai* (collection of 2216 stray verses from varied sources) and *Cēravēntar Ceyyutkōvai* (two volumes of collections of verses written by Cēra kings as well as on Cēra Kingdom, life and culture) display a new approach by way of bringing to prominence notable verses usually lost sight of and applying new criteria for selection of poems. The compilations, because of their new approach, provide enormous untapped material for research purposes. His Tamil sūtras, *Vinait-tiripu-viḷakkam* (1959) with a full commentary explain the verb-classes of Tamil and show a modern technique of linguistic analysis. Raghava Iyengar's lectures embodied in "*Some Aspects of Kerala and Tamil literature*"

(English version in two parts 1948 and 1950) call attention to a new technique of viewing Tamil literature with reference to Kerala history, its surviving cultural features and linguistic usages; this yields a fund of new knowledge of great relevance to the student of Tamil life and history. His '*Ārāycci tokuti*' (collected Essays, 1937) and later collections of papers issued in 1955 and 1959 provide a spectrum of the original methodologies he had initiated in language, literature, epigraphical and historical investigation.

RESEARCH BREAK-THROUGHS AND FINDINGS

Raghava Iyengar's original approaches to research indicated above, have led to the discovery of many unknown facts and correspondences, identifications of men and places and details relating to Tamil culture that are too numerous to be exhaustively listed here. These cover all fields of linguistic, literary and historical cum epigraphical study in which he had laboured. But his work in the last mentioned field has won special acclaim and received relatively greater publicity than his equally important work in other fields. P. S. Subramanya Sastri, a renowned linguist and former colleague of Raghava Iyengar wrote the following in the course of a review of one of the latter's books in the "Hindu" dated 2-10-1948.

"The author is foremost among Tamil scholars who was responsible to create a historical outlook in the minds of Tamil students of the present century. Many an English educated scholar engaged on research in South Indian history is indebted to him for one idea or another..."

I wish to mention here some notable first findings of Raghava Iyengar that have attained historic importance and do not deserve to be forgotten because of sheer efflux of time. The extent of indebtedness of the world of Tamil scholarship to his original insights will be clear when we measure them by standards obtaining today when research is encouraged on a mass scale and originality or impartiality seem to be no priorities at all.

1. Raghava Iyengar's papers set-forth the links of many traditions and features of Tamil culture for the first time, besides setting them against the background of Indian literature. Illustrations are:

i. On a critical examination of Sangam works and their commentaries and various traditions, inscriptions and historical facts, the truth about the migrations of the *Vēḷs* belonging to the *yādava* clan of Lord Krishna, into Tamil Nadu is arrived at and a rough dating of the event suggested (Vēḷir Varalāṛu, 1905)

ii. Survivals of secret marriage customs associated with the hilly region (*kuṛinci*) in *Tolkāppiyam* are found among modern Savaras of Ganjam, Kuis of Orissa, Ūrāḷis of Coimbatore and Mūtuvars of Travancore (Tolkāppiya-p-poruḷatikāra-ārāycci· 1960 edn. p. 12)

iii. '*Akam*' and '*Puṛam*' tinais are named after flowers and this is confirmed by Vālmīki who states in his Rāmāyana that southern warriors have a special liking to bedeck themselves with flowers on occasions of war (Ibid, p. 115)

iv. Frequent specific references to '*aṭiyār*', apart from other servants (*vinaivalar*) point to the existence of slaves in the Tamil land, similar to what obtained in ancient Greece (Ibid, p. 42)

v. That '*Tiruppāvai*' of '*Āṇṭāl*' and '*Tiru-empāvai*' of *Mānikkavācakar* use the literary convention of a '*pāvainōnpu*' an observance (*vrata*) by virgins called '*Katyayani vrata*' in Bhagavata and '*ampāvātal*' in Paripāṭal, a Caṅkam classic, was first brought to light in a paper in the '*Cen-Tamizh*' (1918). The paper was summarised in English by S. Krishnaswami Iyengar, the famous historian, in the 'Indian Antiquary', September 1926. This piece of background knowledge, well known in scholarly circles, has been a basis of support to the *Tiruppāvai-Tiruempāvai* festivals launched about the fifties by Sankarāchārya of Kāñchi and now an annual event in some temple-towns of Tamil Nadu (Vide Ārāycci-tokuti, 1937, chap. 13, p. 185 ff.)

vi. Versions of Rāmāyana episodes indigenous to Tamil Nādu and not found in Sanskrit, are listed. (Ibid, chapter 1)

vii. Aspects of Krishṇa worship indigenous to Tamil Nadu and not found in Sanskrit are listed (Ibid, chapter 2)

viii. Cultural affiliations, through the ages between the Tamils and the Āndhras are set out for the first time after due literary and other research; the famous *Cūḷāmaṇi Nikaṇṭu* in Tamil of *Maṇṭala-purusha* is determined as belonging to the age of Krishṇa-dēva-rāya.

2. In matters of language and literature we owe many insights, and break-throughs to Raghava Iyengar. The more important findings are given below—

i. In the field of textual criticism which has developed scientific techniques, Raghava Iyengar has shown the usefulness of a multi-disciplinary analysis. He has critically examined '*Kaliṅkattu-p-paraṇi*', '*Kuraḷ*', '*Naḷaveṇpa*' and *Nalāyira-tivya-prapantam* and suggested many textual emendations, since gratefully accepted by scholars.

ii. In his book "*Cēran Ceṅkuṭṭuvan*" our author provided the first full-scale running prose version of the *Vancikkāṇṭam* of the *Cilappatikāram*. This *kāṇṭam* of the epic does not have an old running commentary (as in the case of the other two kāṇtams) and Raghava Iyengar's prose version supplied a felt need. It became a starting point for all later work on the *vanci-k-kāṇṭam*.

iii. The existence of a native Tamil script, pictographic in nature, alongside of the Brahmi script used in Tamil Nadu has been inferred by Raghava Iyengar by critical examination of references in caṅkam and post-caṅkam literature. This finding is of great relevance in modern controversies regarding the question of the existence of a purely indigenous script for Tamil Nādu.

iv. Raghava Iyengar's editions of many Tamil prabandhas – *Vikkirama-cōḻan-ulā*, *Citamparappāṭṭiyal*; *Kuraḷ Ariccantira-veṇpā*

etc – all have their hall-mark of original interpretation and suggestion; his running glossary on three poetical compositions of the Saivite saint *Cēramān Perumāḷ Nāyanār – Ponvaṇṇattantāti, Tiruvārūr mummaṇi-k-kōvai,* and *Ātiyulā* included in the Saiva canon as the Eleventh *Tirumuṟai* are noteworthy as a positive contribution to the understanding of later Saiva literature (vide *Cēra Vēntar Ceyyutkōvai,* Vol. II, Travancore University, 1951).

v. The linguistic and literary usages mentioned in *Tolkāppiyam* and not found in later periods have been enumerated for the first time (vide Āraycci-tokuti, pp. 101-120).

vi. That the structure of the *kuṟaḷ pāyiram* of four chapters - praise of God, rain, ascetics and righteousness (dharma) follows the pattern prescribed in *Tolkāppiyam, pāṭāṇ-tiṇai* has been insightfully identified by Raghava Iyengar and is a specific contribution to the interpretation of the classic (vide Tolkāppiya-poruḷatikāra-ārāycci 1960 edn. pp. 141-145)

vii. The legends and traditions about Tamil caṅkams have been analysed from a historical perspective, resulting in many important inferences like (a) Agastya's entry into Tamil Nādu must have been after Lord Krishṇa's time and his *akattiyam* grammar, referring to Pāṇini clearly in one instance, is datable to the latter's age prior to the 9th century B.C., (b) the determination of the extent of the sea-deluge reported in the caṅkam poems as affecting only 2 districts called *paṇai nāṭu* and dating the period of the loss as about the 4th century B.C., after the time of *Kauṭilya* who speaks of the pearls of Kavāṭapura, the lost town (c) The use of the word 'Caṅkam' is traceable to the 'Dravida Sanga' of the Jains in the 5th century A.D. which was followed by Saivite and other Sangams in succeeding centuries, as evidenced from many later classics like *Cintāmaṇi*, inscriptions and traditions (vide *Ārāycci-tokuti,* chapters 5 and 6; '*muṟcaṅkamum piṟcaṅkamum*' in Tamizhāyvu, 1978)

viii. New approaches to the study of the treatment of Rāma's avatāra by Kampan and his portrayal of the characters of Hanumān, Kaikēyi and Bharata are given by Raghava Iyengar

in his essays collected into a book under the title '*Teyvappulavar Kampar*'.

3. We have to include here the contribution to linguistic study made by Raghava Iyengar's grammatical sūtras in Tamil verse published under the title *vinai-t-tiripu-viḷakkam* on the occasion of his eighty-first birth-day in 1958. These explain the conjugational classes of veibs In Tamil and give detailed statements of verb-roots under each class. The study of verbs conjugational types is an area lying unexplored by the ancient grammarians of Tamil and Raghava Iyengar's work herein is a modern addition to *Nannūl* and *Tolkāppiyam.*

4. The important contributions to South Indian historical knowledge from the pen of Raghava Iyengar deserve recall here as part of the totality of his achievement, though there may be separate treatment of it in other papers as well. Among these are the following:-

i. The fact that there was a Mauryan invasion of Tamil Nadu in the caṅkam Age was first intimated by Raghava Iyengar to a historian friend, M. S. Ramaswamy Iyengar who wrote about it, acknowledging his debt, in 'Studies in South Indian Jainism'. The question was later taken up by S. Krishnaswami Iyengar and others. The subject was reexamined by Raghava Iyengar in 1950 and a new piece of information about the probable route of the Mauryan invasion through the Aramboly pass near Nagercoil, was added (Vide some Aspects of Kerala and Tamil literature, Travancore University, 1950, Chap. 5)

ii. While the chief source of early Pāṇḍyan history has been the *Vēḷvikkuṭi* and *Cinnamanūr* plates, our scholar found from the palm-leaf manuscripts he had examined, that illustrative stanzes quoted in a continuous order in the *Iṛayanār Akapporuḷ* (a work of Tamil poetics datable to the eighth century A. D.) belong to a poem entitled '*Pāṇikkōvai*' and that it gives valuable information about the battles fought by *Neṭumāṛan* I called *Ninṛacir-Neṭumāṛan,* which could be cross-checked with details mentioned in inscriptions. These *Pānṭikkōvai* poems have been

extracted from the original work where they occur as illustrations and shown separately as an independent poem in Raghava Iyengar's poetical collection entitled *Peruntokai*, (verses 867 to 888). The period *Neṭumāṟan* has also been discussed by him in his *Ilakkiya cācanavazhakkāṟukaḷ* (pp. 80–82)

iii. That '*Vanci*' mentioned in the Sangam literature of the Tamils is identifiable with modern Karur in the Trichinopoly district has been shown for the first time by Raghava Iyengar in his book *Cēran Ceṅkuttuvan* (Chap. 12) citing detailed literary, inscriptional and other evidence therefor. This identification was subsequently further elaborated with profound erudition and invincible argumentative skill by our author's cousin, R. Raghava Iyengar, in a monograph entitled '*Vancimānakar*'. Modern excavations near Karur besides numismatical and inscriptional finds have, if anything, vindicated strongly the original identification made in the '*Cēran Ceṅkuṭṭuvan*' monograph. Scholars of the past generation may recall the fact this *Vanci* topic was a point of debate between two schools, one for Karur and the other for *Tiru-ancaikkalam* and the annual conference of oriental scholars had a 'sadas' on this issue at Tirupati in the thirties. It may be noted that *Ayirai-malai* and *Ponnāni* mentioned along with *Vanci* in the Sangam works have been identified with 'Aivar malai' hill and 'Ponnāni' river arising therefrom.

iv. We owe to Raghava Iyengar the first full analysis of the *Cēra* dynasties and their system of succession, shown to be patrilineal beyond doubt. Apart from his exhibition of genealogical tables of the *Cēra* kings, our author has given a clear statement, in a manner acceptable to history, of the battles and exploits in which *Ceṅkuṭṭuvan,* the *Cēra* king engaged himself. (Vide *Cēran Ceṅkuṭṭuvan* chapters 2, 3, 4, and 5).

v. Our author's findings about the age of the Āzhvārs which are, in fact, his working out the chronological-cum historical details of the Bhakti period of the South India, when Āẓhvārs and Nāyanmārs flourished contemporaneously, are comparable to discoveries in the realm of science where hypotheses are made out of the insight of the research worker and then counterchecked

and tested under different conditions to prove their validity or otherwise. Among the most impressive research findings are the inference that *Tirumaṅkai Āzhvār* must have lived to a green old age of 84 or 94 years (660–744 or 754 A.D.) as a contemporary of *Jnāna-Sampantar*, *Appar* and several Pallava kings, notably *Nandivarman Pallavamalla* (717–779 A.D.) for whom he may have been a Rājaguru as well. The Āzhvār calls himself 'Pappa Appar' in one of his hymns which is equivalent to 'Bappa Bhattaraka' a title for honoured preceptors, which title also occurs in an inscriptional record of Pallava-malla. Literary, inscriptional and historical evidence fertilise each other at every stage. The identification of 'Vayiramēkam' (a title referred to by Tirumaṅkai Āzhvār) as Dantidurga, the Rāshtrakūta contemporary of Pallava-malla whom he defeated and then befriended, serves to put other details also mentioned by the Āzhvār into a historical perspective. An example of the author's insightful method of using facts in Saiva traditions to enlighten Vaishnava history may be mentioned here. From *Kulasēkara Āzvārs* poems we know that he renounced his kingship of Cēra land to live in Srirangam, the holy island of his intense devotion. Raghava Iyengar identifies this Āzhvār with the *Cēra* king mentioned by *Cēkkizhār* in his *Periyapurāṇam* in general terms 'as the monarch who renounced his throne' and was succeeded by *Cēramān Perumāḷ Nāyanār* contemporary of *Sundaramūrthi-nāyanār*, the chronology and the known facts helping this inference.

5. The 'epigraphical dimension' to the study of Tamil literature was first introduced, as already stated, by Raghava Iyengar. His classic work '*Cācana-t-tamizh-k-kavi-caritam*' (lives of poets from inscriptions) not only finds inscriptional evidence for facts of literature and vice versa, which leads to the discovery of many new facts about already known poets but also gives details of 45 poets and 31 poetical works, not known before. Specially interesting are the author's revelations that the actual name of cēkkizhār, the author of the Periyapurāṇam was 'Rāmatēvan' and that there was a Tamil translation of the Mahābārata done in the reign of *Kulottuṅka Cōḻa III* besides translations made under Pallava and Pāṇdya rulers.

6. In a survey of the light that inscriptions available till his time could throw on the dynastic and socio-cultural history of the Tamil country, (embodied in his book *Ilakkiya-cācana-vazhakkāṛukaḷ*) Raghava Iyengar has written a history of Tamil literature with many new suggestions and identifications. A few instances are given below:

i. The *'paṛampu'* hill of *Pāri,* the famous Vēḷ chief of the Caṅkam period was for the first time identified with *'Pirān-malai'* in Ramnad district by Raghava Iyengar. T. A. Gopinatha Rao supported this identification, citing the mention of Pāri as part of the name *'Parīsvaram'* in an epigraph of the *Pirānmalai* temple (p. 42).

ii. The 'Kōśar', famous for their truthfulness of speech in the caṅkam classics are identified with 'Satyaputras' of Aśōkan inscriptions; their territories are the *Koṅku* and *Tulu* countries; 'Nānmozhi nāṭu' associated with the Kōśar in *Maturai-k-kāñci* and other works is identified with 'Nāmakkal' on the basis of epigraphical evidence (pp. 53–55).

iii. The Pāṇḍyas had a Sangam for *icai* (music) as they had one for *iyal* (literature) (p. 33).

iv. *'Paṭṭi-manṭapam'* had the technical meaning of 'an assembly of men learned in Sanskrit' as indicated by *Naccinārkiniyar in* his commentary to Tolkāppiyam; the *Cinnamanūr* plates bear witness to the fact that these kings studied both Tamil and Sanskrit.

v. Buddha Datta, a Bhikshu of the 5th century A.D. speaks of himself as living in *Kāvērippūmpaṭṭinam* under 'Accuta Vikrama, of the Kalambakula.' This 'Accuta' of 'Kalambakula' is identified by Raghava Iyengar as *'Accuta-Kaḷappāḷa'*, a *Kalabhra* king mentioned in *'Tamiḻ Nāvalar Caritai* and 'Yāppruṅkala-Virutti'. The chronology suggested by the *Vēḷvikkuṭi* grant and parallel references in literature support this identification and the further inference that this *'Accuta Kaḷappāḷa'* may have been the king dethroned by the Pāṇḍya King *Kaṭuṅkōn* (pp. 77–78).

7. The major events in the history of the 'Tiruccittira-kūṭam' Vishṇu shrine at Tillai–Kulōttunga II causing the Vishṇu image to be thrown into the sea and a later renovation etc – have been reconstructed by the evidence of the poems of *Oṭṭakkūttar*, read with Vaishṇava chronicles and later Tamil literature (pp. 201–206). There is a further elaboration of the reconstruction of the events in the author's paper on *'Tiruccittira-kūṭam'* in his book *'Kaṭṭurai-maṇikaḷ'* (pp. 67–79).

8. Many usages in inscriptions have come in for clarification in the light of literary and other evidence. A few will be cited here: (i) Raghava Iyengar was the first to call attention to the fact that the tribe of dancers called *Cākkai-k-kūttar* referred to in *Śilappatikāram* survives as an institution in later inscriptions of the *chōḻa* period, and has its continuity with modern Kerala temple–dancers called Cākkiyar. (ii) The custom of mentioning the names of father and son as *'Cēntampūtan'* (pūtan, son of Cēntan) *Caṅkarancāttan* (Cāttan, son of Caṅkaran) is particularly noteworthy in inscriptional records and gives proper clues to dynastic history (pp. 64–66). (iii) In inscriptions, the name *'Śri Vallabha'* becomes quite often *Cirīvalluvar*; the Sanskrit term 'Vallabha' has the same meaning as the Tamil 'Vaḷḷuvan', a 'karmādhyaksha' or 'important official' of state. The Sanskrit 'Vallabha" can, by phonological changes normally occurring in Tamil, become 'Vaḷḷuvan'. In these circumstances Raghava Iyengar has given us the original suggestion that Vaḷḷuvar the author of the *Kuraḷ* may have been so named by virtue of his functioning as an officer of state, a 'Rāja–Vallabha'; this is rendered more probable by the fact that his 'Porutpāl' displays expertise of statecraft of the highest order. (pp. 152–153 and Ārāycci-t-tokuti pp. 206-9). (iv) That Narasimhavarman II alias *Rāja Ciṅkan* (A.D. 700–715) a staunch *Śiva-bhakta* and builder of Śiva temples at *Kāñci*, *Māmallapuram* and *Panamalai* as per inscriptions, was the reigning king praised by *Cuntaramūrti Nāyanār* as *Kāṭavarkōn-Kazhaṟciṅkan* is a fact of political history proved by Raghava Iyengar for the first time on the basis of chronological sequence of the Pallava line as well as the applicability of the title *Ciṅkan* given by the Nāyanār to this king only (pp. 85–89).

9. Raghava Iyengar's research on the inter-relation of the language and literature of the Tamil land with those of Kerala is pioneering work in a new direction. His various papers in this field, collected in the book 'Some Aspects of Kerala and Tamil literature' (except *Kāntaḷūr-cālai* published in the Journal of Oriental Research, Madras, Aug-Sep. 1956-7) show the survivals of many features in Kerala found in early and middle Tamil literature. These are grouped under the Kerala land, its festivals, personages, place-names and shrines and verbal expressions, linguistic, literary and epigraphical. These constitute a mine of new information to all workers and students in this field. The paper on *Kāntaḷūr cālai* provides a definitive interpretation of the term *Kāntaḷūr-cālai kalam aṛuttaruḷi* used in *Rājarājacōla's* inscriptions, after a critical examination of multifaceted evidence martialled from all sources. The finding has been given that the term signifies the victory of Rāja Rāja I over the naval fleet of the Cēras at the Cālai or treasure-house of *Kāntaḷūr* (Trivandrum) an exploit giving him immense wealth and significant enough to merit separate mention in the 'prasasti's of the king.

REFUTATION AS A TAMIL RESEARCHER

As already stated, Raghava Iyengar's work in linguistic and literary studies has been to some extent overshadowed in the public mind by his reputation as the first major researcher writing in Tamil on Tamil epigraphy and history. This has its reason. In his days Tamil scholars-pandits-could not pretend to have a sense of history and the question of their study of inscriptions did not arise at all. It was given to Raghava Iyengar to demolish this wrong image of the Tamil pandit cooped up in his traditional rote-learning. From his specialisation in language and literature he passed on imperceptibly to epigraphy and history and proved himself a unique historian who could correct the mistakes of professional historians as well. With his matchless erudition in Tamil he could in a trice relate epigraphical finds to their literary sources, correct misreadings• or fill missions in inscriptional texts and harness his new findings to the service of reconstructing a fuller picture of the past. By his

sustained attempts to "squeeze" history out of literature and literature out of epigraphy and allied material, he has provided invaluable material for a systematic history of Tamil literature, and become a noted writer with a record of considerable achievement in the field of South Indian history as well.

When many original views and learned conclusions were being propounded by our author from time to time, the scholarly world did not accept them blindly; there were occasional discussions enlivening pages of bygone journals. After the stir, the final reactions always used to settle down to one of approbation and approval of the good work and the addition to existing knowledge placed at the disposal of the public. Scholars like S. Somasundara Bhārati, N. M. Venkataswāmi Nāṭṭār and S. Vaiyāpuri Pillai who had occasion to air differences or raise doubts in relation to Raghava Iyengar's new suggestions, have expressed their appreciation as well of his contribution to the enrichment of knowledge. Somasundara Bharati's praise of "*Vēḷir Varalāṛu*" has been quoted earlier. Venkataswāmi Nāṭṭār, raising certain points for discussion, wrote to Raghava Iyengar the following :-

"That (the criticism) has been written with no other object except to express the thoughts that occurred to my mind, as they were. I also do not think that what I have written will be acceptable to all others. I pray greatly that you should not get the impression that because I have written in opposition to your views, I am a person unaware of your excelling power of research and the great benefits you are doing to the Tamil world or that I am one without great esteem for you. My feeling is that though it may be wrong for me, one of the students examined and certified by yourself and people like yourself, to have written in criticism of your essay, it would please you. I always seek your love and blessing."

(Ārāycci-t-tokuti, Introdn p. 15-6)

Vaiyāpuri Pillai has spoken thus of the research findings of Raghava Iyengar:

It is true that some of the author's papers (included in the book *Ārāycci-t-tokuti*) give rise to differences of opinion...I do not wish to enter here into the topics on which research has been done. One thing, I can definitely say and it is that the author's final conclusions (in his papers) are for the most part, acceptable to the scholarly world).

(Ibid, Foreword, p. 11)

Time, they say, is the best judge of many things; looking back, we may note that the passage of years has, if anything, served to highlight the appropriateness of the views and confirm the surmises made by our scholar. In one major case – the identification of ancient Vañci as modern Karūr later-day archaeological excavations and inscriptional finds have demonstrated the truth of his position conclusively. There are many other identifications and inferences made by him which have been quietly accepted and incorporated in subsequent work of scholars with and without mention of the source of knowledge.

Raghava Iyengar's suavity in replying to objections raised to his suggestions, his scrupulous adherence to the points under dispute, never for a moment swerving from the main path for attacks on personalities as opponents were won't to do, his invariable acknowledgement of sources of the citations or other material he used or the help he received, and his faithful mention of previous workers who inspired or led him to his conclusions – all these "good graces" form part of the research procedures he had built up for himself in his writings. His contribution to South Indian historiography, the methodology implicit in his linguistic, literary and historical researches calls for study at length in a separate paper.

POWER OF PERCEPTIVE GENIUS

I shall close with one more observation. While the diversity and depth of Raghava Iyengar's researches backed by a unique wealth of learning compel our admiration, there is something more in it that lifts it up above the pains-taking pursuits of ordinary scholarship. This 'something' not only uplifts but illuminates all

the array of scholarly equipment and exposition that the author lays bare before us.

This is a power of perceptive genius, of a piece with the creative power of the artist, that conjures up, as it were, the real picture in all its living truth from the drybones of literary, inscriptional, historical and other data under examination. Correspondences between scattered facts that we can never associate are seen to be linked in a sequence or to fill in the details of an over-all plan that Raghava Iyengar's perceptive genius works out. At the touch of his magic wand drybones of history become living pieces of art. Great break-through in knowledge, whether in the sciences or the humanities come only from this leap of creative insight of the worker which is vouchsafed to him fitfully, if at all, on top of constant involvement in his endeavour. Scientists associate the name of the insight-giver with the discovery, as when they speak of "Raman effect" or "Roentgen rays" in the physical sciences. If this convention could be adapted to the evolving discipline of Tamilology, we may speak of an 'M. Raghava Iyengar effect' while discussing problems of Tamil history and culture like the location of *Vañci* the *Cēra* capital and the chronology of the Āzhvārs and Nāyanārs.

Perhaps no better tribute to Raghava Iyengar's perceptive genius and its shaping power can be paid than that of his contemporary and friend, the famous poet Desikavināyakam Pillai who wrote to him thus, fascinated by his reconstruction of many Tamil poets and poems from inscriptions :

"It is no easy task to write accounts of poets of old, dead and forgotten, with incomplete inscriptional fragments. Whenever I go through your book my memory harks back to the story of *Tirujñāna-Sambantar* creating a woman's shape out of dead bones. I have not come across a book of this kind in Tamil till date".

Needless to say, Raghava Iyengar's creative leaps of insight occurring as the very crown of his vast scholarship, make his writings a treasure-house of permanent value wherever Tamil is studied, or will be studied.

II

REPORT OF SEMINARS

The Institute of Traditional Cultures held a seminar at 4 P.M. on Monday, the 21st February 1977 in Room No. 48 of the Madras University Departmental Buildings on "The Contribution of the Early Cholas to Telugu Language" led by Thiru Vedam Venkataraya Sastry, M.A. The following is a report of the proceedings of the seminar.

Present:

Dr. K. K. Pillay, M.A., D.Litt., D.Phil. (Oxon.), in chair.

Thiru Vedam Venkataraya Sastry, M.A., Leader.

An audience of about 30 persons was present.

The Chairman introduced the leader and requested him to lead the seminar.

Thiru Vedam Venkataraya Sastry: Telugu, a Dravidian language: Present day Telugu is the language of the Āndhra people and the Chōḻas were of Tamil origin. Strange as it would seem one will be wondering what could be the contribution or even connection between these two entirely different people. Linguistically scholars have shown a common Dravidian origin but beyond that were not able to see any definite exchange of literary thought or material at such an early period. For the early Chōḻas flourished during the so-called Śangam period, about the first two or three centuries either before or after the Christian era. Telugu language was not known then and Telugu literature makes its first appearance only in the 11th century when Nannaya Bhatta wrote his Āndhra Mahābhāratam (A.D. 1019-1061). No doubt this presupposes a great deal of evolution as evidenced by the verses found in inscriptions but nothing is known about the origin of Telugu or the beginnings of Telugu literature. The historian has to face a difficult situation and his conclusions at best could only be of a speculative nature. After

some comparative study of the avallable material I have a feeling that the very language of the early Chōḷas was Telugu, i.e. a kind of early Tamil or its dialect which gradually took a different shape and later acquired the name Telugu due to historical reasons. If Tamil was the language of the Pāṇḍyas, Malayalam was that of the Chēras or Keralas, Telugu seems to have been the language of the Chōḷas. My thought and investigations proceeded as follows:

Telugu has two names: Strange to note, unlike other people of India, the Telugu people go by two names, Āndhra and Telugu. Tamil or Drāvida, Kannada or Karnāṭāka, Marātha or Mahārāshtra and so on are not so different but mere changes of the same word but by no ingenious grammatical or linguistic rule or twist can we connect the two words Āndhra and Telugu. They are clearly two different words and it is really strange that no historian has so far enquired why the Telugu people go by two such names entirely unconnected. I started with a why? My present paper explains it.

The word Telugu is not found until we come to the 11th century A.D.: It is nowhere found in early inscriptions or literature. The word Āndhra is no doubt very ancient and goes far back to the Aiterēya Brāhmaṇa. The Purāṇas mention the Āndhra dynasty and from inscriptions, coins and literature we have reconstructed the history of the Āndhra Satavāhana dynasty as having ruled roughly between B.C. 240 and A.D. 240. Prākrit was their language and even though they performed great Vēdic sacrifices no traces of Sanskrit are found during the four centuries of their existence. In fact we find Sanskrit from the time of their decline and after their fall it comes to its full shape. How strange! The earliest Sanskrit inscription is that of Rudradāman about A.D. 170 in North India and A.D. 350 or 300 in the South under the Pallavas. I do not want to go into details but this is enough that classical or *loukika* Sanskrit came into existence long after the Prākrit language period.

At this early period the Tamil people knew the Āndhras as *Vadugar* and their land Āndhrāpatha as *Vaduga vezhi. Tene-agu*

Ten-agu and similar views are all unscientific pandit speculations, baseless and fanciful. Some scholars, prejudiced against Tamil created a Prakrit theory as against the Dravidian showing many Prakrit words in Telugu. But these words are seen only in later Telugu literature. Our Prakrit studies are still in their infancy and we have not classified non-Sanskrit words into Drāvidian or Prakrit. The idea that Prakrit was the corrupted form of Sanskrit is no longer accepted and after Vedic Sanskrit, it is now clear, Prakritic. dialects reigned supreme. Vedic language was called as *Dēvabhāsha* and even *Samskṛtam* was called *Bhāsha* and Panini called his grammar *Bhāshā Vyākaraṇam,* the grammar of the language, what language he does not mention. It was even called *Ashtādhyāyi* or the book of eight chapters as against earlier books of lesser chapters. He had, strange to note, no name, for his language. *Samskṛutam* is a later word and means the well-done or perfected language. This adjective was formed when the language became the common language for the whole of India with words taken from all the languages of India including Tamil.

Coming to Prakrit I feel that the word Pali as applied to old Prakrit reminds one of the Tamil words பழைய *Palaiya* and the Greek Palaeo (cf. Palaeo-graphy etc.). It was probably Dravidian and was the language of India before the advent of Vedic Sanskrit. A comparative study of Greek, Tamil and Prakrit words is essential to understand the real importance of the antiquity of Tamil. Even during the Prakritic period we do not find the word Telugu either in Āndhra or outside. The word *Nāgabu* found in early records is presumed to be either a mistake for *Nāgambu* or an early form for Nāgamu for every Telugu word has the termination *mu* or *mbu* except for *pilli,* cat and *kukka* dog. But we find it in Tamil *ambu, sembu, kambu, silambu, pāmbu* etc. Coming to the very word Telugu it is clear that it was not in currency prior to the eleventh century and makes its first appearance only then in the Āndhra Mahābhāraṭa of Nannayabhatta, the court poet and one of the ministers of Rājarāja Narēndra, 1019-1061 A.D. The word is also found in the Tamil

records of his brother-in-law, Rājādhirāja Chōḷa. The Chōḷa king was fighting with the Karnatakas who were giving trouble to his brother-in-law, Rājarāja Narēndra of Vengi. Telugu chiefs Niduvadi Telungu Vichchayyan and his brothers, and Niduval Telungu Vichchayyan are all seen fighting for the Karnatakas and are said to have been defeated by the Chōḷas. Strange it is that Telugu people were against their own men. But the records of Rājarāja Narēndra mention the territory north of the river Krishna as Āndhra and it is likely that the Telugu leaders were not fighting against their own people but the Āndhras. The word Telugu seems to apply only to the Telugu Chōḷa people and none of the others. I shall dwell upon this subsequently.

Some scholars are inclined to find the word Telugu in certain old references. Agattiyam is said to contain the word but it is controversial as many Tamil scholars find interpolations therein. *Āi Āndiran* cannot be Telugu and sounds like Āndhra. Ptolemy's (A.D. 150) term is not *Trilingon* as some have quoted it but Triglypton meaning Trikalinga and he meant a city and not a country. There is much controversy about its location. The territory upto Gōdāvary, including Rajahmundry was all Kalinga country and Kalinga was of three parts (1) Uttara Kalinga – Utkalinga – Utkala (2) Mode – Kalinga or Madhya Kalinga upto Vizāgapatam and (3) Dakshinakalinga. The Purāṇas also (according to Sri Medepalli Venkataramanacharya) do not have Telugu or Trilinga. Sri M. S. Sarma also has made this clear. Besides let us remember that Purāṇas are full of interpolations. Literary forgeries may be too strong a term. Rājasēkhara, the poet dramatist of the ninth and tenth centuries uses the term and scholars took that to mean Telugu without going deep into the text. I have pointed out that as a mistake for Trikalinga as the king referred to was a ruler of Tripuri on the banks of the Narmada beyond the Vindhyas.

Now the field is clear that upto the eleventh century the word Telugu does not show itself anywhere. Nannayabhatta alone gives the alternate form Tenungu pointing to the idea of Trinaga or three hills – Sri Saila, Kālahasti and Mahēndra in far

distant Kalinga. Before I explain this I would like to show that Telugu with the l was the correct form as found in other later references. Some ancient writers connected this as referring to the three lingas of Sri Saila, Kālahasti and Drāksharama. Some substituted Kalesvara or Mantena Kaleswara in Manthani on the banks of the Gōdāvary in the Deccan in the Karimnagar district, far away in Hyderabad. These are later changes. For after Nannaya, Hemadri, the Yadava minister and Dharma Sastra writer used the word *Tillinga* referring to Kakatiya Rudradeva of the 12th century.

" तिल्लिङ्गाधिपतेः पशोर्विशसनं रुद्रस्य रौद्राकृतेः "

तिल्लिङ्ग क्षितिपाल तूलनिचय प्रक्षेप चण्डानिलः "

Tamil and Kannada records mention 'Telungu Bhupala', 'Telgasamari', 'Telinga Kula Kala', 'Telunga', Telungaramalla' and the like but nowhere *Tenunga.*

Chronologically after Hemadri, the Telugu poet Ketana in his Telugu grammar uses the word *Tenugu* like Nannaya.

" మున్ను తెనుఁగునకు లక్షణ మెన్నడు నెవ్వరును జెప్ప రే జెప్పెద "

(Āndhra Bhashabhushana) while his contemporary, the great Tikkana Somayajin uses the word Āndhra. (ఆంధ్రావళి మోదముం బొరయునట్లుగ). To please the Āndhra country or people in their entirety – Āndhravali – all the Āndhras – Probably he meant the Kakatiyas as he belonged to Nellore and was the minister of the Telugu Chōḷa king of Nellore, a descendant of Karikāla Chōḷa. The next poet was Palkuriki Somanatha, a contemporary of Prataparudra, 1295–1323 A.D. uses the word Telungu in his story of Telungu Jommayya or Bommayya as applied to a race. Though a late book, the Siddesvara charitra mentions that more than six thousand families of Telugu people were living at Warangal under the Kakatiyas confirming the view Somanatha that Telugu also meant a race of people.

These references make it clear that except the two early Telugu poets none else calls the people or language as Telugu. Besides we have to note that the *repha* the *r* in the word

Trilinga as applied to Telugu did not creep into the word at this stage i.e. the 12th century. Trilinga is yet to be coined. But fortunately nobody called the country Trinagadesa but only Trilinga desa.

The boundaries of Āndhra or Telugu country cannot be defined: I now go to the next topic that the Telugu boundaries are elusive and not clear cut as no two authorities agree. This leads us to the clear idea that the Telugu people were different from the Āndhras. Even to-day the language and habits differ. Vinnakota Peddana, a poet of Visakhapatnam in his book on Prosody, grammar and rhetoric written in 1402 mentions thus: "The Āndhradēsa being situated between the lingas in Sriparvata (Srisaila), Kalesvara and Daksharama became Trilingadesa and the Tadbhava form of Trilinga being Telugu it is also known as Telugudesa. Some people later altered this Telugu into Tenugu." Here the poet means to say that Tenugu is a later word. But this origin for Trilinga is not an original idea of this poet. Vidyanatha, the Court poet of Prataparudra (A.D. 1295–1323) wrote the same in his *alankarasastra* प्रतापरुद्रयशोभूषणम्

यैर्देशः त्रिभिरेवयाति महतो ख्यातिं त्रिलिङ्गाख्याया
येषां काकति राजकीर्तिविभवैः कैलासशैलःकृतः,
तेदेवाः प्रसरत्प्रसादमधुराः श्रीशैलकालेश्वर
द्राक्षाराम निवासिनः प्रतिदिनं त्वच्छ्रेयसे जाग्रतु ॥

(Pratāparudra yasōbhūshaṇam).

(May the Gods residing at Srisaila, Kaleswara and Daksharama, very liberal in their benevolence, protect you (Pratāparudra) whose country is famous as Trilinga because of these great lingas and by whose ancestors' fame the great Kailasa hill itself was constructed). A poetic fancy.

The Kakatiyas were Saivas and this was composed when they were at the zenith of their power. Probably they did not yet attract the attention of the Muslims or withstood the muslim invasion. The verse includes almost the whole of the Āndhradēsa.

There is an earlier definition of the land dated 1162 A.D. of the time of Rudradeva (wrongly called Prataparudra I) where we do not find the Trilinga idea.

राज्यं प्राच्यां लवणजलधेस्तोरपर्यन्तमस्य
श्रीअैलान्तं प्रचरति सदा दक्षिणस्यां समग्रं
प्रातोच्यान्ता कटकनिकटस्थायिनो राज्यलक्ष्मीः
कौबेर्याशातटविलसिता माल्यवन्तं प्रपेदे ॥

(The empire (of the Kakatiyas) is bound by the sea on the East, it goes fully upto Srisaila in the south, in the west the limit is Kataka i.e. Kalyana Kataka, the capital of the Chāḷukyas of Kalyani and in the north its boundaries go upto Malyavantam). This excludes many parts of the Telugu land especially Rāyalasīma and Gōdāvary which were included later. For in a later record (A.D. 1358) found at Śrirangam we find this verse:-

पश्चात् पुरस्ताद्वपि यस्य देशौ ।
ख्यातौ महाराष्ट्रकलिंग संज्ञै ॥
अवागुदक् पाण्डाक कान्यकुब्जौ ।
देशः स्म तत्रास्ति तिलिंगनामा ॥

(That country is known as Telinga to whose west and east are Mahārāshtra and Kalinga respectively and to whose south is the Pāṇḍya country and north Kanyakubja). This shows a vast territory but not Trilinga by name but Telinga.

The Kakatiyas, we all know, were originally in and around Warangal and slowly expanded their sway over the entire Āndhradēsa. As they expanded they were forced to give new delimitations for their territory.

The Velanadu chiefs of the 12th century give another definition for Āndhra.

पूर्वांभोनिधि कालहस्तिशिखरश्रोमन्महेंद्राचल श्रीशैले वॅलयोकृतांध्र विषयम्

Here Āndhra is situated within Kāḷahasti Śrisaila, Mahēndra hills and they Bay of Bengal. This includes only their territory

and excludes the entire Kakatiya territory upto the Gōdāvary in the north in the Karimnagar district. How contradictory are these definitions! Here the land alone is called Āndhradēsa. Were not the Kakatiyas Āndhras? Really speaking the Karnatakas call the Kakatiyas as Āndhras and the Velanadu kings as Telugu people. In A.D. 1136 Hoysala Vishnuvardhana Tribhuvanamalla Bittaga attacked Gonka, the ruler of Velanadu and called that the territory Telugunadu. A Kannada inscription clearly mentions that Gurujala or Kadhaviyakere, in the Narasaraopet Taluk of the Guntur district as a place within Telunganada. (Telunga nadolagana Madhaviyakere). At this period it was under the Velanadu rulers and Velanadu proper corresponded to present day Tenali and Repalle taluks and some places round about. It comprised of 6000 villages and was also called the *Āruveladēsam* or the 6000 country. Besides this evidence the Velanadu rulers themselves called the Kakatiyas as Āndhras as distinct from themselves. Even Vidyanatha called Prataparudra as 'अन्ध्रक्ष्माभर्ता' 'आन्ध्रक्ष्माभर्तुरासोत् अधिकरणधुराभिन्न' etc.

Let us go deeper. The Chāḷukyas of Vengi were neither Āndhras nor Telugu people. They were Karnatakas. Conquering Pithapuram first (पिष्टं पिष्टपुरंयेन जातं दुर्गमदुर्गमम् etc. Aihole Ins.) they came down and became masters of Vengi. Later on in A.D. 649 they crossed the Krishna and issued Telugu records there. Telugu records north of the Krishna are all of a later date. All these give us a picture that the land south of the Krishna extending upto Kālahasti was Telugu country and not Āndhra. Besides it is also clear that the Telugu Chōḷas alone were called the Telugu people. By the time of Nannaya Bhatta the Telugu people and their land acquired the name Telugu. But long before the three linga idea rose, the three hills idea appeared as the rulers of Vengi became masters of the Telungu nadu and extended their territory upto Mahēndra hills. The same idea is found in the Velanadu records also

पूर्वांभोनिधि कालहस्ति शिखर श्रोमन्महेन्द्राचल श्रोशैलैर्वलयोकृतान्ध्रविषयम्

This was issued a century after Nannaya. Hence the term 'Āndhra' crept in. The Āndhra Satavāhanas held sway over the

entire Deccan between the Krishna and Gōdāvari and hence after Karnataka acquired a separate name - for the word Karnataka is a later one and is found from the Kadamba records of Vishṇu-vardhana at the end of the 4th century, A.D. 356, - the residue held the old name Āndhra.

We see a clear change from the time of Kakati Rudradeva whose reign ended about A.D. 1195 (1150-1195?), for Kannada was the inscriptional language all over the Kakatiya land till then and from this ruler onwards we find Telugu as the State language. Telugu which was in use in all the places, south of the Krishna first spread into Vengi and then into modern Telangana. This brought about a similar culture allover and Telugu and Āndhra became synonymous terms. There was no Telangana until we come to the thirteenth century. This would make us alter our views of an early date for the origin of Telaganyulu of Āndhra and the Telangs of Burma.

Now coming back to the Telugu Chōḷas - the Chōḷas of Renadu, who are seen in the Cuddapah, region from the sixth century onwards were the descendants of Karikāla Chōḷa and definitely were a Tamil people. As they spread they occupied many places in Āndhra and came to be known as the Chōḷas of Pedakallu, Nedugallu, Konidena, Nelluru, Panugallu and so on. They even entered the Karnataka and for some time were the subordinates of Nolamba Pallavas of Anantapur and Chāḷukyas of Kalyani. Telugu language makes its first appearance only in the records of the Renadu Cholas. If Telugu was not their language and if they were purely a Tamil people like the Pāṇḍyas and Chēras how are we to explain a total absence of Tamil touch in them in Āndhrapradēsh. If Karikāla was of the Sangam period how is it that not a trace of the Sangam literature is found here. But the Telugu Chōḷas cherished the memory of Karikāla and remembered him centuries after century. Some of them took pride of their Uṛaiyūr connection and bore the title *Uṛaivūr paravara-dhisvara.* Nanne Choda, a poet whose date was a controversial one, (I feel 1300 A.D.) mentions the story of the cock also of Uṛaiyūr.

" కలుపొన్న విరుల బెరుగం
గలు కోడి రవంబు దిశల గలయఁగ జెలగఁ
బొలుచు నొరయూరి కధిపతి
నలఘు పరాక్రముడ టెంకణాదిత్యుండ "

The cock story is repeated in the Panditaradhya Charita of Palkuriki Somanatha, regarding Velanadu. I feel it is wrongly attributed to Pandita.

A word about the origin of the term Kakatiya. If it could be equated with Kakandi then Kakandi being the Kaveri region they too should have migrated from the South. Rajupalayam near Gudur also was another besides the famous Kakinada. It was also the Sibi country and at Chijerla in Narasaraopet taluk, very near Gurujala we have the Kapotesvara temple, apsidal.

Besides this kind of simultaneous spread of the Chōḷas and Telugu along with them we have to note the Telugu titles of Mahēndravarma Pallava, A.D. 600–630. I am unable to decide now whether the Telugu titles were inspired by the Chōḷas or not but they are of the same date and along with the Pallavas many of their subordinates bore the same titles. The Muttarayars also come into the picture. But the Renadu Chōḷas, as subordinates of the Pallavas formed into a buffer state from the Tamil border to the Karnataka border. There is a tradition in Tamil that one Adonda Chakravarti brought down a large number of Tuḷuva agricultural families and settled them in Tamil Nad for cultivation purposes. They became the Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam Tuḷuva Veḷḷāḷas and seem to have spread into the territory of the Renadu Chōḷas upto Sri Saila. We have to put here the story of Kukkanti Kadu Vetti. We have also the stories, preserved in various Telugu Kaifiyals that Mukkanti Kaduvetti or Trilochana pallava, Vishṇuvardhana Chāḷukya and Karikāla Chōḷa were contemporaries and fought for supremacy in the south.

You will wonder and will definitely raise a question now. If Telugu was the language of the Chōḷas and spread along with

them into the Āndhradēsa displacing as it spread, Prakrit, Sanskrit and Kannada in some regions how is it the word Telugu was not known until we come to the eleventh century. Its sudden appearance needs explanation. We have been Tiling, Tilling, Telung as earlier forms after the 11th century. The Tamils knew the term Telungu. Strange to say one Kannada record gives another form as Tilu. In a Kannada description of Somēsvara I, Chāḷukya of Kalyani A D. 1053, a certain Jewesa is praised as having inscribed his prsasti in four different scripts, Tilu, Tivula, Kannada and Nagara.

ಮಾನವ ಮನ್ಮಥಂ ಬರೆದನಾದರದೆಂ ನಿಜಾಂಕಮಾಲೆಯಂ ತಿಲುತಿವುಳ ಕನ್ನಡ ನಾಗರದಕ್ಕರಂಗಳ

We understand Kannada and Nagara. Tivula is definitely Tamil and the Karnāṭakas called the Tamils by that term, '*Tigularamari*' etc. It is worth studying why while the later Telugu people called the Tamils as Aravalu the Karnāṭakas called them Tigulas. Now by elimination Tilu stands for Telugu. When I mentioned this to Dr. N. Venkataramanayya he at once suggested Tula. That exactly is my idea and fits into my theory. As already mentioned the admixture of a large number of Tuluva Veḷḷāḷas into the Telugu Chōḷa population should have given the name Tilu, Tula and later Telugu to the language through the ages and we see it in its full fledged form in the eleventh century. The descendants of those Veḷḷāḷas are now known as Reddis as many Tirupati inscriptions equate Reddis with Veḷḷāḷas. Linguists say that Tulu, a Dravidian dialect is nearer Telugu. I can now emphatically say that the Chōḷas modified the original languages of Āndhra and made them Telugu. Both the Dravidian and the so-called Āryan cultures met in the Deccan and the result is Telugu - a sweet language - the Italian of the East.

To confirm this, as it were, Telugu prosody is nearer Tamil. During the Rāshṭrakuta period when the Vengi kings were fighting with the Karnāṭakas Telugu poets copied the Kannada style of versification in writing verses i.e. vrttas with only *yàdugai* and no *monai*. But *monai* was there in *desi* meters. Soon poets abandoned the Kannada way and from Nannaya onwards Telugu

poets strictly followed both. Telugu poetry after Nannaya was largely patronised by rulers south of the Krishna. The Kakatiyas never cared for Telugu. When Tikkana wrote (ఆంధ్రావళి మోదముం బొరయునట్లుగ) 'āndhravali modamum borayu nattuga', he probably meant the Kakatiyas as he went to Warangal to please Ganapati and get help to restore his King Manumasiddi.

Now I would like to receive criticisms and in their light either clarify, amplify or modify my views with gratitude.

Thiru G. M. Muthuswamy Pillai: The seminar on the contribution of the early Chōḷas to the Telugu language has to be welcomed, as it in a way helps the national integration, inspite of the linguistic states, which have come to stay. But, it would be more correct to say that the Chōḷas who were Tamil kings and who contributed in a large measure to the development of the Tamil language as evident from the Śangam literature, contributed also to the Telugu language.

One of the very early Chōḷa kings, Kanthan is said to have entrusted the task of improving Pūmpuhār to Kakantan, with instructions to call it in his (Kakantan's name), Thus Pūmpuhār got the name of Kakanti, as seen from Manimēkalai. In recognition of the services of Karikāla Chōḷa, whose territory extended upto the banks of the north Pennar, by way of improvements to the Kaveri, as spoken to by the Śangam literature[1] and the Telugu records,[2] the place Reddipalayam in Gudur Taluk of Nellore district, was given the name of Pavithiri found in Śangam literature, and territory around it was called Kakanty, the name of Pūmpuhār.

The Śangam literature refers to the very early inhabitants of the Āndhra country.

During the reigns of Bindu Sāra, the father of the Mauryan Emperor Aśōka (298 to 272 B.C), the Mauryan army[3] consisting

1. Porunanuttrupadai, 242-248; 283-288.
2. Epi. Ind. Vol. XI p. 339
3. Ahananuru 28; Purananuru, 69, 175.

of Kosars,[4] Vaḍugars[5] And Āryans of the Gangetic plains invaded the Tamil country. (Vaḍugars were those who lived in the territory to the Vada Vēnkaṭam, the traditional northern boundary of the Tamil country. The Kosars of Vada-Vaḍugars are those who lived in the territory north of the Vindhyas. Dr. Krishnaswami Iyengar thinks that Vaḍa Vaḍugars hailed from East Bengal).[5(a)] This attack was repulsed by the Chōḻa king Ilan set Chenni. The fact that there was an another similar attack which was thrown out by the king Nedunchezhian of Śilappadikāram time (150-200 A D.) shows that the Kosars and Vadugars and the Āryans of the Gangetic plains continued to live in the territory north of the Tamil kingdom. After the death of Aśōka in 232 B.C., the Vadugars under the name of Sadavahanas ruled over a vast territory upto the banks of the river Gangas. Thus, thirty kings beginning with Shimoga ruled over the country for about 460 years. After the fall of their administration, the Pallavas of the same area drove the Kaḷapiras of Cudappa and Kurnool areas to the south and held sway.

In the seventh century A.D. there were four kings ruling over Cudappa and Kurnool territories. They called themselves as Renand Chōḻas and took pride as having descended from the dynasty of Karikāl Chōḻa. Hieu Tsang had noted that he saw the kingdom of these Chōḻas in 639-640 A.D. Some kings in the dynasty of Renand Chōḻas bear the name of some of the Pallava kings like Simma Vishṇu, Nandivarman etc. King Mahēndravarman who succeeded Simha Vishṇu is responsible for the two inscriptions, the one in Sanskrit on the Tricchirāpaḷḷi rock[6] and the other in Kannada Telugu form in Vallam[7]. This indicates that Sanskrit and Kannada Telugu forms were prevalent in the territory of the Renand Chōḻas. Kaṇṇappa Nāyanār, one of the

4. Purananuru, 378; Ahananuru, 211; Nattrinai, 212.

5. S. I. History, pp. 59-94.

5 (a) S. I. History, pp. 59-94.

6. Gunabhara-namani raja nyana
Lingeva lingini Jnam
Pratham ciraya loke
Vipaksavrtteh paravttam

7. Pahappiduku Lalithanguram
Satrumallan Gunaparan
Mayen ha Potharasaru Adiyans
Vayartha Peri Arasaru Mshan
Kanthasenan Seivitha
Devakulam.

63 Nāyanārs is praised by the four Saiva Āchārias viz. Thiru Gñāna Sambandar, Thirunāvukkarasu Nāyanār, Sundaramūrthy Swāmigal. It has to be noted that Kaṇṇappa Nāyanār hails from Uduppur in Pothappinadu situated along the territory of the Renand Chōḻas.[8]

On the advent of the Chōḻas, who succeeded the Pallavas, king Parāntaka Chōḻa I (907-953 A D.) conquered the Renand Chōḻa territory but in the year 949 A.D. the Renand Chōḻas regained their independence. Rāja Rāja Chōḻa (985-1014 A.D.) installed Saktivarman of East Chāḷukya dynasty as the then king of Vengi Nad, situated between the Krishna and the Gōdāvari and gave his daughter, Kundavai, in marriage to Vimalāditan, the younger brother of Saktivarman. Rāja Rāja Narēndran, the son of Vimalāditan, married Ammanga Devi, the daughter of Rajēndra Chōḻa (1012-1044). Rāja Rāja Narēndran ruled over Venginad for 41 years from 1018 to 1059 A.D. Kulōttunga I, the son of Rāja Rāja Narēndran deputed four of his sons, one after the other, to rule over the Vengi territory. It was during this time, that the north and south Kalinga (Orissa) were conquered by the Chōḻas. It has to be noted that Rāja Rāja Narēndran was responsible for getting Nannaya Bhattar to compose Bharatam in Telugu. Kulōttunga I who happened to stay with his father Rāja Rāja Narēndran for a considerable period, was able to acquire knowledge of Telugu and Sanskrit and also Tamil as seen from Kalingathuparaṇi composed by the Tamil poet, Jayamkoṇdar who pays compliments to his eminence in Tamil. Towards the end of Kulōttunga's reign (1111 A.D.) the temple for Sūrya (Sun) was constructed at Surianarkoil, near Kumbakonam. This temple and another chariot shaped temple at Mēlakkadambūr may be cited as the pro-type of the Konarak temple of Sūrya in Orissa of the 13th century and the Vittala temple of Hampi of the 16th century.

There is the question whether the Kakatiyas can be termed Āndhras and the combined population of Telugu Chōḻas and Thulava Veḷḷāḷars can be called the Telugu people.

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8. Peria Puranam: Kannappa Nayanar puranam: 1, 2.

Ganapathy, the famous Kakatiya king overpowered the West Chāḷukyas and ruled over the territory with Orangal, as his headquarters. The two inscriptions of Pudukottai describing the achievements of Kulōttunga III mention this detail. It is stated that Kambar on account of strained feelings with Kulōttunga, went over to the first Kakatiya, Prathaparuthiran. (1162–1197). Kulōttunga's inscriptions cover Nellore and Cuddapah districts in the north and Hemavati, Avani and Edore in Mysore area in the west. The area in the west covers the Telugu area and also the Mysore area of Kannada or Tulu. It so happened that these areas are Telugu region while the territory held by Kakatiyas who opposed Rāja Rāja Chōḷa, Rajēndra Chōḷa and also Kulōttunga III (1178–1218) was called Āndhras. The Gangas ruled over Kangapadi with headquarters at Kolar in Mysore area. Though their language was Kannada, they contributed liberally to the Tamil language. One of Ganga kings, Seeya Gangan, a contemporary of Kulōttunga III got Bhavananti to compose the present Tamil standard grammar Nannūl. The Tulu speaking subjects of Gangapadi spread far wide and at present Tuluva Veḷḷāḷars found all over the country. But most of them have opted Tamil. There are several Tamil poets of Thulava Veḷḷāḷa community, of whom poet Pugaḻēndi Pulava may be mentioned.

Some times, the Telugu speaking people are classified under Ārya Vysias (Traders). Go Vysiars (Yadavars), Bhuvyas (Tillers of the soil). But there are Telugu speakers in the other walks of life. An appreciable number of Telugu speaking people choose even now to recite the Tamil religious hymns like Thiruppugazh and Nālāyira Divya Prabandam in Telugu transliteration. Similarly, the Tamils respect the Telugu Vemana chadagam and Theagarajah's keertanai which are in literary Telugu.

Dr. K. V. Raman: The attention of the participants is drawn to the following fact. That is, Aśōkan edicts mention Chēras, Chōḷās, Pāṇḍyas etc. and also the Āndhras. The Brahmi inscriptions found in the Āndhra country are in Prakṛit languages. But in Tamiḻnadu, though the Brahmi script was used the language was the languages of the locality, Tamil. This may show the

presence of well articulated language in Tamilnadu even at that period whereas the evidence for a separate Telugu language at that period seems to be not well established. But however the Brahmi script and perhaps prakṛit language in inscriptions of Battiproolu show some local variance which may indicate a regional usage or influence of a local tongue. This point needs further clarification.

Dr. K. R. Hanumanthan: The learned speaker of the evening, referred in the course of his lecture to a section of Tamil society called Thuluva Veḷḷāḷar and suggested that they might have migrated into Tamilagam from Tuluva Nadu or South Canarese country. He referred to the legend of Athondai Chōḻan who is said to have imported into Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam, a large number of Canarese cultivators, for converting the forest infested land into cultivable land. But this view seems to be based on slender foundations, for the Thuluva Veḷḷāḷas are spread all over Tamil Nadu and speak only Tamil. None of them have the slightest memory of Kannada country or the Tulu language. The community has produced great Tamil poets and scholars such as Pukaḷēndi pulavar, of the Imperial Chōḻa period. Therefore I presume that the Thuluva Veḷḷāḷas were no other than the Tholuvar (தொழுவர்) mentioned in the Śangam classics. They are referred to as 'Nellarium Iruntholuvar' in Puṟanāṉūṟu 24-1 and 'Nellari Tholuvar' in Naṟṟinai 195, meaning those who grew paddy. Madhurai Kañchi (122-125) also refers to them as 'Perier Tholuvar' meaning great Tholuvar. The 'Tholuvar' seems to have been corrupted into Thuluvar and the word 'Veḷḷāḷa' was added on to it later on. According to Sentham Tivakaram Uḻavar or cultivators are bracketted with Tholuvar. The inference that the Tholuvar of Śangam age are the same as Thuluvas or Thuluva Veḷḷāḷas of the later days, seems to be more probable than the contention of the speaker that they were the immigrants from Tulu or Telugu country into Tamil Nādu.

The Chairman in his concluding remarks thanked the Leader for his interesting speech, and the other speakers for taking part in the seminar.

III

REPORTS OF SEMINAR

The Institute of Traditional Cultures held a Lecture and Demonstration on 'Yoga Culture' by Dr. B. V. Reddy at 4. 15 P.M. on Wednesday, the 12th October 1977 in Room No. 48 of the University Departmental Buildings. The following is report of the Lecture.

Present :

Dr. K. K. Pillay, M.A., D.Litt., D.Phil. (Oxon.), in chair.

Dr. B. V. Reddy : Lecturer.

An audience of about 50 persons was present.

The Chairman introduced the Lecturer and requested him to deliver the Lecture.

Dr. B. V. Reddy explained salient points in the Yoga system with demonstration by his students and spoke as follows :-

Dr. B. V. Reddy: Culture perhaps can be defined as an aroma or fragrance which is the sum total of a way of living built up by groups of human beings in a certain geographical area and transmitted from general to generation.

It has to do with Tradition, Religion, Philosophy, Metaphysics, Rituals, Speech, General behaviour, Dress, eating habits and also conduct etc. Character is different from culture as culture is external and character is internal but the outside is a manifestation of inside and character has its say.

Man is endowed by Nature with 5 senses, Eyes to see, Ears to hear, Nose to smell, Tongue to taste and Skin to feel. We can say the 6th sense is mind to think. These are required for normal functions in life. But most of us overindulge, inclining towards pleasures associated with senses, tending towards

harted, jealousy, cruelty and competition, contrast and even barbarism. Restraint of the sensual over indulgence is in fact culture and it is cultiuated through Yoga.

Humility and nobility in action should be honest and should be manifest in action and behaviour. It results in an innate consideration for others.

Consideration for respect of others
Consideration for feelings of others
Consideration for faults of others
Consideration for rights of 'others.

A kindly look, a sweet smile, a pleasant word, a tender feeling, an affectionate disposition in MOUNA - Silence, expresses culture.

If there is any honesty in India today, any philanthropy, chastity, any tenderness to dumb people and animals, an aversion to cruelty, love to do good, it is only because of what remains of the old traditional values.

Modern ideas and education have done their best, stirred by foreign domination through political and other pressures to ridicule, caricature and stifle our culture may even destroy our very foundations. Fortunately, Yoga is too strong and nature to bend to these minor irritants because *inter-alia* we have faith in our doctrines of Karma, Incarnatlon and Transmigration. Its influence is still alive and active - Thank God.

I have had the privilege of circling the globe many a time both for selfish and selfless reasons and the more I travel, the more I am convinced that the sad state of affairs in our country is not due to the ignorance in understanding fundamentals of 3 R's

(1) Religion
(2) Relativity
(3) Reality

Understanding of these 3 R's is possible through the teachings of Yoga.

Thousands of years ago our great thinkers, philosophers and saints lived in jungles and mountains. They lived a very simple life, all the time exploring the inner worlds. Their laboratories were their minds which were ahead of us in their search for truth in giving us the eternal formula of Yōga. Their message is still buried in the eternal snows of Himālayas but is addressed to the people of yesterday, the people of tomorrow and to you and me, living as we are living in this restive world. Through Meditation flights they could fuse the past, the future into the present to visionize what was the future of mankind. Accordingly, they even went to the extent of dividing time and space into yugas : Kali Yuga and Satya Yuga etc. and knowing our would —be problems, gave us the Yogic techniques.

Yōga is the only symbol of India and is the finest of Indian culture. It seeks to develop a 'total man' concept through a harmonious evolution of the physical, mental, intellectual, psychic and spiritual posers in a well regulated and disciplined life.

Yōga has its derivation from the word 'Yuj' which means to 'yoke' or to unite. Unity can be at various levels. At the physical level, it is the harmony of various systems of the body-mind complex - respiratory, cardiac and epithelial etc. At the highest level, it is the unity of the individual soul with the universal.

Yōga has, in the main, 4 divisions :

(1) Karma Yōga (Yōga of action): removes gross impurities of mind and selfishness.

(2) Bhakti Yōga (Yōga of devotion) : Dissolves egotism and develops devotion.

(3) Rāja Yōga (Yōga of mental discipline): steadies the mind.

(4) Gñāna Yōga (Yōga of wisdom) : destroys egotism.

There are sub-divisions in each of these expressions. For example: in Rāja Yōga, we have Manthra Yōga, Kuṇḍalini Yōga and Hatha Yōga and again, each of these has 8 limbs, 'YAMA, NIYAMA, Āsanas, Prāṇāyāma, Pratyahara, Dhyāna Dharana and Samādhi.

All these are directed to unfold your inner personality, surface dormant faculties hidden in each of us and then channel them to positive expressions.

All Yōgas can be divided into 2 groups:

(1) Indirect.

(2) Direct.

(1) Indirect: Under this head fall Japa Yōga, Manthra Yōga, Thanthra Yōga, Kuṇḍalini Yōga, Sakthi Yōga, Shānti Yōga, scriptures, worship, rituals etc. These are aids to single pointed concentration.

The mind of India is rich. It has variety, fine texture, profoundity and depth. A foreigner normally cannot appreciate our mind unless he is backed with the basic knowledge of fundamental aspects of Yōga and approaches with broad mindedness and cordiality. It must be understood that it is the Indian thought that emphasizes the wisdom of self-inquiry and promotes the cause of truth. There have been radical changes in India because of unbearable circumstances and unfortunate events of domination but these changes are within the essential text of the many-sided and inconclusive tradition - that is India.

(2) Direct: According to Yōga, mind is a flow of thoughts. To discipline these thoughts which are outward in search of pleasures associated with senses, rotate the mind on its own axis and turn inward to abide in the self is "Being"-Mouna i.e. silence, which transcends thought and speech. It is a perennial flow of language only interrupted by words and actions. You speak and it becomes muted and you Be - it speaks. Be alone and feel the silent growth of trees. Be alone and see the moon-light outside, white, mellow, busy and silent. Be alone and sense the cosmos restoring the healing where there is no gnawing of people with their ego - What is lovelier than being alone, escaping

(a) the petrol fumes of the Society

(b) the pollution and the wordology and

(c) the exhaust smell of power and arrogance.

The unhappy, psyche cannot be silent. He asserts through aggressiveness and verbosity. A man who cannot fully live unless he ceases to care. The direct method is only for mature souls. Instead of wanting to ask about a hundred other things, ask yourself, who am I? This is known as self-enquiry which appears to be the easiest of all tasks but actually it is the most difficult because we are strangers to our own SELF. What one has to do is to abide in the self. This is the ultimate Truth and the end all. This is one's eternal, natural and inherent state. It is by ceaseless enquiry that the thoughts are destroyed and self realised-the plenary reality where there is not even a 'I' thought, the experience which Is referred to as "Silence".

The quintessence of the technique of the self-enquiry according to great souls is:

(1) Mind and Breath spring from the same source. They rise in the spiritual Heart which is the seat of the self and they function as based thereupon.

(2) And so, it is possible to control the mind through the breath. But control is not the same as destruction. The mind should not be controlled but destroyed.

(3) The supreme Yōgi is he whose mind is destroyed. He rests in the self and for him, there is no Karma.

(4) When the mind has been turned back from the objects of sense and when it beholds the self, it realizes the truth.

(5) Let one enquire what is mind, and its nature. It will reveal, it is but a Name for the thoughts. Of all thoughts, that of 'I' is the support. Therefore What is called Mind is truly the thought 'I'.

(6) One should enquire whence the thought 'I' arises and then 'I' vanishes.

(7) Where the 'I' thought vanishes, there the true self shines as 'I' in the Heart.

(8) To know the self is to be the self because there are no 2 selves. Knowing is "Being". Consciousness is existence.

Thus the quest for the self is different from meditation and whereas Meditation is to know God (External in form or Internal formless), Self-Enquiry is a technique to know not the world or God but Self and therefore, superior to all yōgas for the Self is waiting for you as you delve deeper, and thereafter, whatever has to be done is taken care of by something else and the individual has no hand on it. Thus meditation as we understood is good for control of the mind but cannot serve to destroy it, which alone, will result in self-realisation.

Yōga has benefits to offer to all classes of people in the pursuit of their various vocations. The medical men for instance, can find much use for the psychosomatic effects of yōga; to the executive, yōga ensures efficiency through better concentration and good physical health; in the student, yōga will inculcate a sense of self-discipline and of the importance of character; the spiritual man will benefit considerably from the yōga technique of sadhana and meditation; and the city-dweller, who lives under the strains and stresses of a rigid routine can derive from Yōga, peace and contentment through the processes of relaxation of both body and mind.

In particular, yōga has the following special benefits:

(1) Strength : Both physical and mental as well as intrinsic to fight the battle of life.

(2) Stamina : Inter-alia to bear tensions and worries.

(3) Faith : Yōga inspires faith and confidence to be successful in any field of action.

(4) Flexibility : Of the spinal column and the mind to adjust to the outer circumstances and pressures.

(5) Neuro-Muscular co-ordination : This is necessary to avoid strain.

(6) Cardio-Respiratory efficiency : Increases vital air capacity and aids rhythmic blood flow.

(7) Biochemical stability : Strikes balance of various secretions within.

(8) Tenuous mind : Develops equanimity of mind.

MAHATMA GANDHI VOICES :

......The body is not a thing to be carelessly thrown away. It has to be preserved. The body if it is at times the abode of Rāvaṇa, is also the Ayōdya of Rāmā. If it is Kurukshētṛa, the field of action, it is also Dharmakshētṛa - the field of duty. Hence it cannot be ignored. It has to be kept fit and strong. Physical, mental and spiritual exercises are therefore very necessary. Prāṇāyāma, Āsanas and Meditation give me immeasurable inner strength...

This is an appropriate time to explode the fallacy that Rome and Greece were the founders of European civilization. This erroneous notion should be erased out from the text books of World Schools and from the minds of nations, who for centuries chose Histories middle forgetting India's contributions, thereby cancelling the years of earnest deliberations of our great sages.

This could be excused as we were not free from the yokes of Imperialists, but now we should awaken to weave a new Tapestry, out of the centuries old culture and tradition:

It was only in "Silence" that India expressed herself fully in certain subtle spheres thousands of years ago.

(a) To learn Square Trignometry, Pythogoras came to India 800 B.C., became a vegetarian and accepted the Hindu idea of the 5th element Ether.

(b) India is the founder of the Decimal system,

(c) Invented Algebra (Bita Ganita).

(d) Gave birth to Astronomy and discovered rotation of the Earth on its own axis.

(e) Hippocrates borrowed "Materia Medica" from India from the father of the Indian Medicine and Surgery – "Susrata" in 300 B.C. Susrata made a famous compilation "Susrata Samhita" which devoted to Anatomy, Physiology, midwifery, Psychology, Bandages and dressings and also Rhino-Plastic Surgery etc.

In fact Dr. Royle of King's College, London, testified as long ago as 1837 "We owe our 1st system of medicines to the Hindu Hospitals and Nursing Homes started by Emperor Ashoka thousands of years ago."

(f) India is the founder of Chemistry known as "Rasayam". Alkalis, Acids and Oxides were known ages ago.

(g) The theory of incarnation and karma is purely a concept of India and to a true Hindu all knowledge is of divine origin.

Thus if a person wishes to express fully in this world and attain the inner happiness to evolve into a finer being, Yōga is the only answer.

The Chairman in his concluding speech thanked the Lecturer for his interesting speech, the students for their demonstrations and also the audience.

IV

REPORTS OF SEMINAR

The Institute of Traditional Cultures held a lecture on 'Pallava Architecture' by by Thiru S. K. Padmanabhan, B.E., M.I.S.A.E., at 4-15 P. M. on Friday, the 13th July 1979 in Room No. 48, University Departmental Buildings. The following is the report of his speech.

Present:

Dr. K. K. Pillay, M.A., D.Litt., D.Phil. (Oxon.), in chair.

Thiru S. K. Padmanabhan, B.E., M. I. S. A. E., Lecturer

An audience of about 20 persons was present.

The Chairman introduced the Lecturer and requested him to deliver his Lecture.

Thiru S. K. Padmanabhan :

1. The older temples especially, those built in the Śangam age must have used materials other than stone and so perished either by fire or floods or by man's negligence etc.

2. In the Pallava period there was great encouragement to art by Mahēndravarman I, who was 'VICHITRA CHITTA' (the curious minded person). An inscription of his found at Manḍagapattu (near Villupuram) says that the king discovered a new kind of architecture and directed the excavation of cave temples not involving the use of bricks, timber, metal or mortar.

From Mahēndravarman I, to the end of the Pallava period, there are two broad divisions of architectural style the early 1. Rock-cut (of which the monolithic is a well known form) and the later 2. Structural of them the rock-cut style itself has minor variations like the Mahēndra style and the Māmalla style. The

pillared Maṇḍapa is a special feature of the Mahēndra style. The Monolithic temples usually called the Rathas or Pagōdas belong to the Māmalla style. The distinctive style of the architecture of the Tamils during the Pallava period lies in the growing elaborative of the pillars and the introduction of the figures of lion, both at the base and at the capital. During the period of Māmalla these become quite significant. The Māmalla groups of structures are seen in the Mahābalipuram (Māmallapuram). The Structural style temple is best represented by the Shore temple in Mahābalipuram and the Kailāśanāthar Temple at Kañchipuram, both the creation of Rājasimha Pallava (Rājasimha style).

The Structural temple was carried a step forward by Nanḍivarman Pallava. The Vaikuṇtha Perumāḷ temple is quite representative of Nanḍivarman style of structural temple. It is larger than Kailāsanāthar Temple. The Muktēswara temple at Kañchipuram, the Virattanēswara at Tiruttaṇi are examples of the advanced style of Nanḍivarman.

3. Temples of Mahēndravarman style are located mostly in Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam and a few elsewhere in Tamilnādu. The Rock-cut temples at Vallam near Chingleput, Maṇḍagapattu (Near Villupuram), at Dalvanūr (near Gingee in South Arcot District), at Mahēndravāḍi (North Arcot District), at Māmandūr (near Kañchipuram) and a few at Māmallapuram were excavated during his reign period.

4. Narasimhavarman I's (630 to 668 A.D.) reign is noted for continuation of the new architectural tradition at Māmallapuram. He was a great builder like his father and there are many monuments in Māmallapuram (Mahābalipuram) which stands to his credit. Narasimhavarman's contribution to Pallava Architecture is an improvement on his father's architecture. The most striking feature about the Māmalla style is the curious shape of the pillars. The square, heavy pillars with carbal capitals of the earlier periods are replaced by the pillars of a more elegant

shape and better proportion. The seven Pagodas was built by him.

5. Narasimhavarman II (Rājasimha) was one of the most illustrious among Pallava rulers. Rājasimha's contribution to architecture is significant; he built the Kailāśanāthar Temple (also called Rājasimhēswaram) at Kañchipuram, the shore temple in Mahābalipuram and the Siva temple in Panamalai.

Analysis of Mixture of Mortar in Ancient Temple of Kailāśanāthar at Kañchipuram (Pallava Temple)

6. (i) The Main Masonry Stone temple and enclosure were constructed by Rājasimha Pallava (Narasimhavarman II) and called Rājasimhēswara. The temple in front of the court on the East was, Mahēndravarmēswara built by Mahēndravarman III, Rājasimha style (A.D. 674-800)

This temple is famous for its sculpture and architecture of a style exclusively belonging to Pallavas. The shrines are built of mainly Sand Stone and the binding substance was Lime Mortar.

Stone is strong in compression but weak in flexture and shear and these characteristics must always be remembered in design. The strength of mortar has an important part in the resistance of masonry to forces, as have also the size and regularity of the stones and the workmanship of the artisans.

(ii) Analysis of this ancient temple Lime Mortar (More than 1200 years old) shows the following results :

(5 gms sample in 250 ml. of water)

1.	Calcium	16%
2.	Potassium	4%
3.	PH	3.5
4.	Bicorbonate	2.44%
5.	Chlorides	22.18%
6.	E.C	0.4 mmhos/cm.

Traces of Sucrose was also found in the sample (calculated by organic carbon estimation method).

Sugarcane Jaggery, Indian gallnut (Terminalia Chebula), Indian goosbury (Emblica Myrobalan) and Terminalia Bellerica were the other ingredients used. All these were used in the Mortar in the form of a syrup after boiling them.

The Chairman in his concluding speech thanked the Lecturer and the audience present.

REVIEWS

VOICE CULTURE: With special reference to South Indian music. S. A. K. Durga. Published by the Indian Musicological Society, Jambu Bet, Dandia Bazar, Baroda. Rs. 25.

The human voice is essentially a wind instrument, with the lungs supplying the wind, the vocal cords setting up the vibrations and the cavities of the upper throat, mouth and nose forming the resonator. A unique feature of the human voice is that the resonator may be varied in shape, thereby producing tone colours the vowel sounds. Professional singers while performing have to achieve and maintain artistic quality. A good voice need not necessarily be a musical voice. While generally a musical voice is taken as a gift of God, a vocalist has to make it concertworthy by intense and scientific culture.

Ancient texts on Indian music give a highly metaphysical treatment to the human voice and subject it to various classifications. They also enumerate the different qualities a good voice should possess and give a graphic list of the defects of a bad singer. But there is little of a scientific study of voice culture in these texts which usually prescribe herbs and particular kinds of food to improve one's voice rather than scientific culture. In the western countries, Associations have been formed to do experimental research in singing and the results are published in a scientific manner.

Few Indian writers have cared to make a deep study of this subject and against this background the Indian music world should be thankful to Dr. Durga for writing the book under review after painstaking and careful research. The book is a self-contained treatise on Voice Culture though with particular reference to South Indian music. The author has eminently succeeded in her twofold objective of combining the traditional and scientific methods of voice culture and impressing upon the

teacher and the student alike the imperative need for a scientific approach to the subject. The extensive bibliography used by her bears ample testimony to the range of her study.

The reader is taken step by step from the science of voice production and the acoustics of the voice to the psychology of singing and voice culture methods of different nations. The vocal techniques of South Indian music are then explained with the notation of the early vocalises of Carnatic music. Scientific methods of voice culture are then taken up for examination and remedies suggested for vocal impurities. Ancient Indian texts on the voice have been summarized. Illustrations of the various parts of the voice mechanism in the human body add to the scientific nature of the book. The author has spared no pains to make the book compact and useful. The book is elegantly printed in bold type and moderately priced.

DR. S. RAMANATHAN

The Vedic Concept of Śraddhā: by Dr. G. S. PENDSE, published by Three Angels Memorial Trust, 1183, Shivajinagar Pune–411 005, Maharashtra (India). Price: Rs. Thirty.

The great cultures and religious systems of the world, stress the need to obtain divine grace through purity of thought, social responsibility and earnest endeavour to adhere to moral principles. The Hindu tradition gives the highest importance to *tapas* (rigorous penance) to proceed to a supreme spiritual goal. Belief in moral habits and faith in the supreme spiritual traits awaken people to reach a lasting happiness. However, faith in the Supreme Spirit and earnestness to approach the same, will not be so easy to obtain, as one may surmise. Everything lies under the control of the divine will or decree. But men should be optimistic in their approach and can easily achieve everlasting success by faith and earnest belief in fulfilling their duties and successively striving hard to pass over many trials and tribulations ahead. *ŚRADDHĀ*, 'firm faith and befitting belief', is the need of the hour. In the words of Dr. G. S. Pendse, all the educated

and thinking community should make their first aim "to re-establish their best *FAITH* in our tradition and culture based on *sanātana* or the eternal principles of human life, ... to avoid the chaotic thinking and behaviour patterns, introduced by the blind imitation of the Western culture in India." (Preface - Page XII).

The present brochure, *The Vedic Concept of Śraddhā* is an attempt to furnish the details of "the basic balanced view of life in the *Vedas* and ...... the concordances of ideas and philosophy in the Sanskrit literature (on *śraddhā*)......" (preface). Among the important topics that are vividly explained herein, the following would pin-point the author's aim and purpose: 1. The sources of early Indian culture in Sanskrit, 2. Necessity to study basic cultural ideas and concepts (ch. I); 3. Important references of the term, *śraddhā* in the *Ṛgveda* with the author's comments (ch. II), 4. Concordances (of *śraddhā*) traced through the main Sanskrit literature (along with references in the *Upaniṣads*), 5. References in Poetic literature of several saints (including Śrī Śaṅkara) (ch. III); 6. The distinctive features of Indian culture, 7. The use of faith to inculcate values and behaviour patterns (ch. IV); 8. Influence of scientific and technological development on society, 9. Minimum and maximum goals of life as determined by culture, 10. Role of faith in scientific progress. (ch. V- *Science and Śraddhā*).

To underline the importance of *Śraddhā* one may as well quote the words of the famous Sanskritist and reputed Indologist, Dr. V. Raghavan, "It is by faith in the virtues of principles we enunciate, and their realisation in our own character (*cāritra*) and conduct (*nityakarma*), personally and socially, that we can elevate ourselves as individuals or as members of a society or state" (Foreword of 31-8-1978, Page XVII.)

Among the salient quotations in this book of an in-depth study of culture, the following two passages deserve the attention of everyone: "Śraddhā Prātar Havāmahe, Śraddhāṁ Màdhyam Dinaṁ Pari/Śraddhāṁ Sūryasya Nimruci, Śraddhe Śraddhāpayeha Naḥ" (Pages 35-36).

"Na Māṁsabhakṣane Doṣo
Na Madye Na ca Maithune/
Pravṛttireṣā Bhūtānaṁ
Nivṛttistu Mahaphalā" (Page 122)

The present reviewer hastens to add that it may be a misprint (Page 61) that "Tirumaṅgai (Āḷvār) was an untouchable". On the whole, the scholars in the various fields of present times, are in great debt of gratitude to the author, Dr. G. S. Pendse, and to the publishers, the Three Angels Memorial Trust, for their invaluable gift in the form of the present book.

DR. V. K. S. N. RAGHAVAN

The Universal Faith by M. S. PARKHE Publisher: J. A. Mondkar, Pancha Sadhana Prachara Kendra, 1183, Shivaji nagar, PUNE - 411 005, Maharashtra, (INDIA) Second Revised Edition: October, 1978. Price: Rs. 15.

A universal faith in the eternality of the world phenomena can be gauged, if the multifarious religious systems and cults in the world are brought together for solving the problems of mundane and supra-mundane interests. A unique feature in the religious field is that some of the major religions have come closer to each other, make sufficient response to the different calls of various individuals, and proceed in an orderly manner to the supreme end (or godhead), giving a legitimate authority to the early path-finders' revelations and to the subsequent followers' work (with due regards to the ancestors) through the ages. It is worthwhile to note that several religions have a keen interest to establish a universal harmony with regard to some recent turns in this area. The present book inspires us to make an in-depth study for a universal faith in world-religions.

The author, Mr M. S. Parkhe, outlines the aim in the following words: "The object behind this book is to show how the Fire-worship has been prevalent from the beginning of this world as the basis of human culture and how it is the founda-

tion of all the existing or extinct religions or faiths" (Page ix-Preface). He expatiates a five-fold path as the basis of every religion. They are: Sacrifice (Fireworship), Charity, Meditation, Right action and Self-knowledge (*acquired through religious studies* from learned preceptors). Consisting of five chapters, (Manifestation of the Supreme, Revelations of the early man, Working through the ages, Recent turns in established religions, and Universal Faith), the book is well documented. Religious and philosophical treatises are quoted profusely for supporting the author's innovative observations. The observations are unique in that they signify so many factual in-sights; for instance, Mr. Parkhe opines that Swami Vivekananda "created an atmosphere for the universal brotherhood. But the disunity among different schools of Hinduism like Śaivites and Vaiṣṇavites and so on, is still there" (Page 150).

In fine, the Universal Faith, establishing the importance of Fire-Worship, stresses the main view-point, that the *light*, actual sensible light, is indeed a direct vehicle of divinity and it is the consciousness of God." (Page 157). Among the major religions that are analysed here are Hinduism, Christianity and Islam. The multi-colour cover feature (by KHASGIWALE) on Fire Worship and Sun's Brilliance, adds to the well-knit literary gamut of the volume.

DR. V. K. S. N. RAGHAVAN

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